

A NEGLOGVE. GRATVLATORIE.

Entituled:

¶ To the right honorable, and renowmed *Shepheard of Albions Arcadia:* Robert Earle of *Essex* and *Ewe*, for his vvelcome *into England from* Portugall.

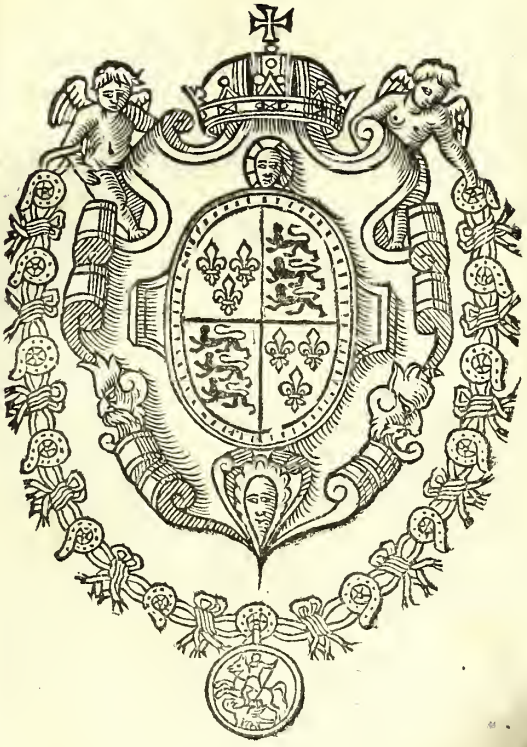
Done by *George Peele.* Maister of arts in Oxon.



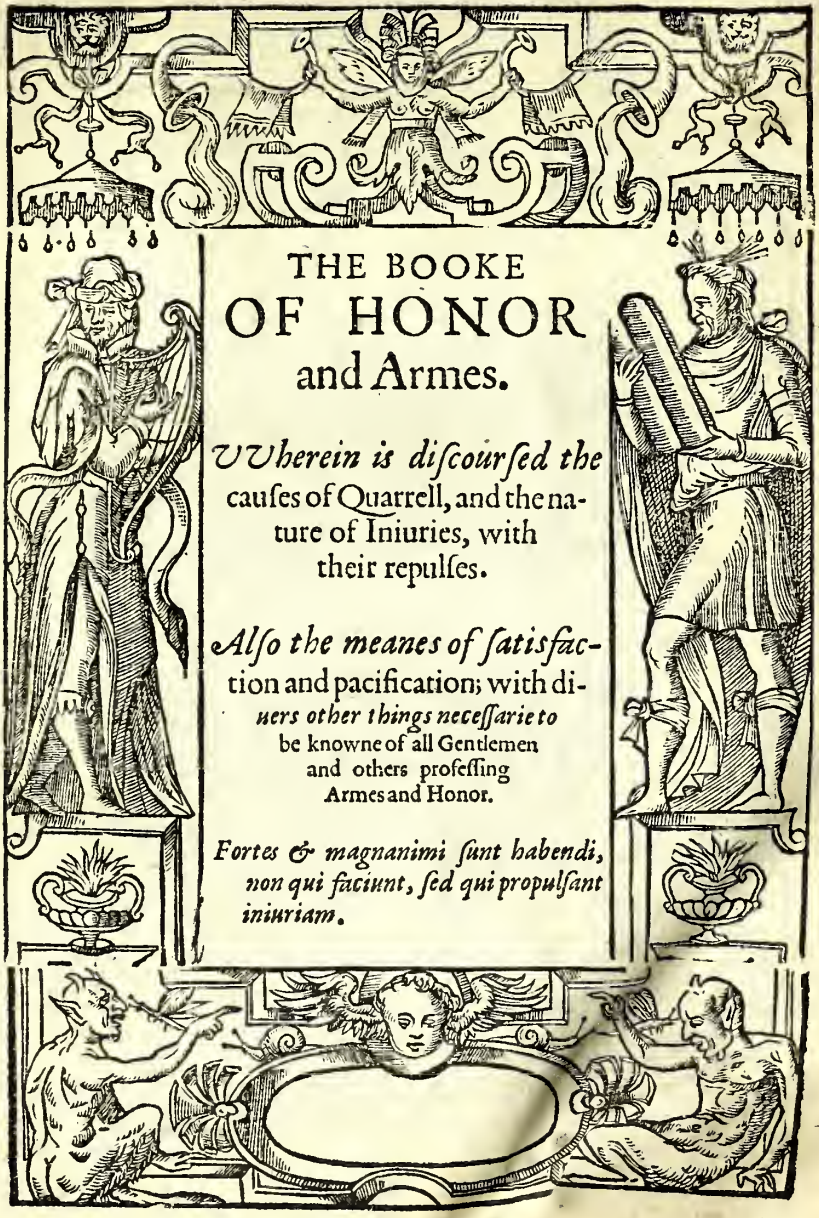
AT LONDON;

Printed by Richard Jones, and are to be ſolde at the ſigne of the Roſe and Crowne, ouer againſt the Faulcon. 1589.

THE BOOKE OF HONOR and Armes.



AT LONDON,
Printed by *Richard Ihones*, dwelling at the *signe of* the Rose and Crowne neere Holburne Conduit. 1590.



THE BOOKE OF HONOR and Armes.

Wherein is discourſed the causes of Quarrell, and the nature of Iniuries, with their repulſes.

Alſo the meanes of ſatisfac- tion and pacification; with di- *uers other things neceſſarie to* be knowne of all Gentlemen and others profeſſing Armes and Honor.

Fortes & magnanimi ſunt habendi, non qui faciunt, ſed qui propulſant iniuriam.


TANDEM SI.
HONI SOIT QVI MAL Y PENSE

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE Sir Christopher Hatton,

Knight of the most noble Order, and Lord Chancellor of England:

Richard Ihones *Printer, wisheth long life, with encrease of happinesse.*



Right Honorable, the manifold testimonies of your loue both vnto Honor and Armes, haue induced me to think the first sight of this small booke doth of right belong vnto your Lordship, being by the due degrees of vertue ascended to that place, which among others in this Realme, is (and long hath been) reputed most honorable. To your L. therefore I humblie dedicate the same, as vnto him, that by censure of our Soueraigne, with the applause of people, hath in hand the consideration of actions apperteining to equitie, Honor and Justice. The

 pr[illegible]*ertie*

propertie of which vertue (as Cicero *saith) is to foresee that no violence be offered, but onlie by him that with iniurie is thereunto prouoked: and that things common should bee commonlie vsed, and priuate things priuatlie enioyed. By which rule appeareth, that vertue alloweth iust reuenge, and admitteth the defence of propertie and right. But for that your Lordship hath been as well an actor in Armes, as a knower of what is due to Honor, I omit to say more, either of the one or the other: beseeching your good Lordship to pardon my boldnesse, and take in acceptable wise the entent of the Author, who both by election and obligation acknowledgeth himself yours.*

Your Lordships euer to commaund:

Richard Ihones.

To the Reader.

THE cauſe of all Quarrell is Iniurie and reproach, but the matter of content, is Iuſtice and Honor. For loue whereof, we ſhun no care of minde, loſſe of wealth, nor aduenture of life. Hereof proceedeth all diſputation in Schooles, pleading in lawe, warre, and all worldlie wrangling. For who ſo is either in deede or opinion, perſwaded to haue truth and reaſon on his ſide, doth not onlie conſtantlie beleeue that ſo it is, but alſo being thereof denied, holdeth himſelfe iniured, and conſequently burthened. True it is, that the Chriſtian lawe willeth men to be of ſo perfect patience, as not onlie to indure iniurious words, but alſo quietlie to ſuffer euerie force and violence. Notwithſtanding, forſomuch as none (or verie fewe men) haue attained ſuch perfection, the lawes of all Nations, for auoyding further inconueniences, and the manifeſtation of truth, haue (among many other trials) permitted, that ſuch queſtions as could not bee ciuilie proued by confeſsion, witneſſe, or other circumſtances, ſhould receiue iudgement by fight and Combat, ſuppoſing that GOD (who onelie knoweth the ſecret thoughts

thoughts of all men) would giue victorie to him that iuſtlie aduentured his life, for truth, Honor, and Iuſtice.

Seeing then that al humaine lawes haue permitted the triall of Armes, and that euerie iniurious action not repulſed, is by common conſent of all Martiall mindes holden a thing diſhonorable, infamous, and reproachfull; it cannot be, but at ſome times and occaſions ſuch queſtions and quarrels ſhall ariſe, as neceſſarilie muſt receiue triall by the Sword. And *Cicero* ſaith, that hee who repulſeth not an iniurie, being able, offendeth no leſſe, than if he had abandoned his friends, parents and countrie. By theſe reaſons appeareth that the triall by Armes is not onlie naturall, but alſo neceſſarie and allowable. Notwithſtanding, for that the vulgar ſort (and many right noble alſo) be ignorant what are the true cauſes requiring triall of Armes, and what words or deedes are of ſuch qualitie as ought bee repulſed or reuenged; I haue at the earneſt requeſts and often deſires of verie honorable friends (by way of abreuiation) reduced into this ſmall volume, all cauſes of Quarrell or Combat, the nature of Iniuries and repulſes, the equalitie and diſequalitie of men, who may bee challenged, and for what reſpects Challenges ought bee refuſed: with many other things in matter of Honor and Armes worthie to be knowne and conſidered.

And albeit I am not ignorant that publique Combats are in this age either rarelie or neuer graunted; yet for that (as is before ſaid) no prouidence can preuent the queſtions and quarrels that daylie happen among Gentlemen and others profeſsing Armes, it ſhall

ſhall not be amiſſe, but rather behouefull that all men ſhould be fullie informed what iniurie is, and how to repulſe it, when to fight, when to reſt ſatiſfied, what is Honor and good reputation, how it is gained, and by what meanes the ſame is kept & preſerued; which was the reſpect that the Earle *Balthazar Caſtilio* in his booke of the Courtier, doth among other qualities requireable in a gentleman, ſpecially aduiſe he ſhould bee skilfull in the knowing of Honor, and cauſes of quarrell. This booke doth not incite men to vnaduiſed fight, or needles reuenge (as ſome ſimple wit may ſurmize) but enformeth the true meanes how to ſhunne all offences: or being offended, ſheweth the order of reuenge and repulſe, according vnto Chriſtian knowledge and due reſpect of Honor.

And for that the dignitie of Knighthood apperteineth chieflie to Martiall merite, I haue thought fit brieflie to touch the original thereof: declaring how many Orders or degrees of Knights were in times paſt, and of them, how many yet extant.

We haue not in this worke medled with Armorie, or blazing of Badges; but chieflie touched matters offenciue to reputation and Honor, whereof Combat or particular triall of Armes ought to enſue. If ought els is looked for, it may bee taken from the learned. *Tractant Fabrilia fabri.*

FINIS.

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The

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FINIS.

THE BOOKE OF Honor and Armes.

VVhat a Combat is, and the originall thereof.

CAP. I.

A COMBAT, is a ſingle fight of one man againſt another, for trial of truth, either els of diuers men, as two, foure, ſixe, tenne, or more, equallie and indifferentlie agreed vppon, to fight on horsbacke or foot without aduantage, in number of perſons, or diſequalitie of weapons.

Theſe kind of fights ſeeme to be firſt vſed of great Princes, who deſiring to end publique Contention and warre, did mutuallie conſent to determine the ſame by their owne priuate vertue and aduenture of life, as did *Golias* and *Dauid*, the *Horatij* and *Curiatij*, with diuers other, who fighting onlie in perſon, for the publique cauſe, therby ſaued the effuſion of much bloud, and the liues of many moſt worthie Captaines and valiant Soldiers. And albeit the cauſe and occaſion of theſe Combats, was publique reſpect, yet each particular Gentleman or other perſon profeſsing Ho-

not and Armes, ought sufficientlie bee moued thereunto for defence of his owne particular reputation; which respect, and haplie also some publique occasion, mooued the Combat of *Æneas* with *Turnus*, of *Menelaus* with *Alexander*, of *Pulfius* with *Varenus*, of *Robert Mountfort*, with *Henrie* Earle of *Essex* in *England*: yea, Kings and Princes haue of late time done the like, as *Charles* the third, King of *France*, with the King of *Hungarie*, *Alfonso* King of *Spaine*, with *Richard* Earle of of *Cornwall*, and King *Alfonso* with King *Ranier*.

These particular fights were first vsed among the people called *Lombardes*, as appeareth by the lawes written by *Aliprandus* one of the Kings that gouerned that Nation: yet true it is, that the Combats of those People, and in that Age, were tried with no other weapons but onelie certeine shields and staues of wood, vnlesse it were for cause of infidelitie. Neither seemeth it that the chiefe occasion of their fight was respect of Honor, nor that the vanquished should become dishonored, or Prisoner vnto the vanquisher, as since hath been vsed.

Of the order of challenging and defending.

Cap. 2.

FIrst is to bee considered, that all Iniuries are either by words or by deeds, and that in euerie Iniurie by words, the Iniurer ought bee the Challenger: but in an iniurie by deedes, the Iniured ought to challenge, as for example. *Simon* saith to *Austen*, thou

thou art a *Traitor*. *Auſten* anſwereth, *Thou lieſt*: then doth it behooue *Simon* to mainteine his words, and conſequentlie to challenge *Auſten* to the Combat.

An Iniurie by deedes is thus. *Simon* giueth a hurt, a cut, or other violence vnto *Auſten*; whereat offended, he ſaith, *Thou haſt done me offence, violence, iniurie*, or ſuch like ſpeach. *Simon* anſwereth, *Thou lieſt*. Then behoueth it that *Auſten* do challenge *Simon*, and force him by fight to mainteine the hurt he offred. Wherfore as a rule or *maxime* in matter of Honor, it is ſpeciallie to be noted, that whoſoeuer is truelie and lawfullie belied, muſt of force become Challenger to mainteine that he ſpake or did, and wherevppon the Lie is giuen him.

And although ſome men, rather to ſhewe the dexteritie of their wits, than the valour of their mindes, will at ſuch occaſion vſe many ſuperfluous words, whereby further ſpeach of offence doth followe, and ſo take opportunitie to giue the Lie vnto whom the hurt by hand was giuen; yet the true and preciſe reaſon of Honor is, that he who gaue the blowe & hurt, ſhould without further diſpute be challenged, vnleſſe he denie the doing thereof with offer of ſatiſfaction. Thus appeareth brieflie, that whoſoeuer is lawfullie belied, ought by Armes to challenge, mainteine, and proue that which he affirmed or did, in preiudice of the honor or perſon of the Iniured.

For what cauſe the partie belied ought to challenge, and of the nature of the Lie.

CAP. 3.

FOr ſo much as in ordinarie triall by lawe, and ciuill Iudgements, whoſoeuer ſtandeth accuſed by deniall of ſuch accuſation, is free from condemning vntill further proofe be made: euen ſo in euerie impoſition by ſpeach, contrarie to good reputation, honor or honeſtie, ought either by ciuill or martiall meanes be mainteined and auowed. Therefore, who ſoeuer being offered iniurious ſpeach, ſhall ſay to the offerer thereof *Thou lieſt*, or thou ſaieſt not truelie, doth therby repulſe the iniurie, and force the Iniurer to challenge. And euerie deniall be it neuer ſo ſimple, importeth a Lie, & is of like effect, although the maner in pronouncing deniall onlie, is an anſwere more friendlie and courteous, than the qualitie of an iniurious impoſition requireth.

And although the manner of denials are diuers, as *Thou lieſt, Thou ſaieſt vntruelie, &c.* yet euerie deniall is a repulſe of iniurie, being ſpoken to that which was iniurie: But if the ſame be vttered in anſwere of any words, wherin was no offence, the ſame becommeth iniurious: as thus. If I tell or ſay any thing without euill impoſition to any perſon, and one ſtanding by, ſhall ſay I ſpeake vntruelie, or vſe other deniall of that my ſpeach affirmed; by that manner of ſpeach he giueth me an imputation of a Lier, & conſequentlie offereth me iniurie. Moreouer, for that euerie iniurie by words may for once be wreſted, it is lawfull

lawfull for me, with euerie my deniall to repulse that iniurie, and my second deniall conteineth the effect of a Lie, and his first, the force of iniurie; by which meane, the burthen shall rest vpon him. But if so it be, that he answereth or saith, *The truth is otherwise*, or anie other such speach, that cannot bee iniurious, nor shall any waies burthen me, vnlesse I shall in some iniurious sort replie, and then he denying, may lay the burthen vpon me: for the difference that maketh one word sometimes iniurious, and sometimes not, is, that the same is sometimes spoken iniuriouslie, and sometimes not, as thus. If I say vnto another man, *Thou saiest not true*, thereby I reproue him, and consequentlie offer iniurie: but if I say, *That which thou saiest is not true*, that speach is not iniurious, and may be without burthen of him vnto whom it is spoken.

Yet in one case, that rule faileth: for if I say, such a thing I haue done, another answereth, *That is not true:* by so saying, he doth burthen me. To conclude I say, that whosoeuer refraineth with his words and speach to offend others, he can by no meanes receiue the Lie.

Of the nature and diuersitie of Lies.

Cap. 4.

BVt for the more plaine conceiuing of the nature and diuersitie of Lies, wee will particularlie discourse thereof, and shewe how many sorts of them be, how they are to bee giuen, and in what sort they are to be answered. It is therefore to be knowne that of Lies, some be Conditionall, and some be Cer-

teine: and of both them, some be Generall and some Speciall. To these may bee also added one third kind, which we will call Vaine Lies.

Of Lies certeine.

Cap. 5.

WE call those *Lies certeine*, which are giuen vpon words spoken and affirmed; as if I should say or write vnto another man, *Thou hast spoken in preiudice of mine honor, honestie and credite, and therefore doest lie.* This may be called a Lie certeine, because I stand certeinlie assured that such a man hath spoken euill of me: yet true it is, that because I doo not in these words particularlie expresse the matter or speach whervpon I giue the Lie, therefore it shall be reputed a *Lie generall*, and consequently of no force: For indeed no Lie is lawfull, vnlesse the matter and words wherevpon it is giuen bee plainlie and expreslie repeated. Therefore the Lies which are giuen vppon certeine and apparant words, are they which in truth do bind the partie belied vnto proofe, vnlesse he can denie to haue spoken that wherevpon the Lie is giuen him, and the fourme thereof is thus. Harman, *thou hast said that at the Battaile of* Montcontour *I abandoned mine Ensigne, and cowardly ranne away:* wherevnto I answere, *Thou hast lied.* By this apparant and particular expresion of that was said, the Lie giuen is made Speciall, and consequentlie lawfull.

of

Of Lies Conditionall.

Cap. 6.

CONDITIONALL lies, wee call thoſe which are vttered vpon condition, as if a man ſhould ſay thus: *If thou haſt called me a theefe, thou doeſt lie: or if thou ſhalt hereafter ſo ſay, thou lieſt: And how often thou haſt or ſhalt ſo ſay, ſo oft I ſay thou haſt and ſhalt lie.* Theſe Conditionall lies in this ſort giuen, are the occaſion oftentimes of much diſputation, becauſe they are not in force vntill ſuch time as the Condition is verified, I meane, vntil it be auowed that ſuch words haue indeede been ſpoken. For he vnto whom ſuch a Lie is giuen either by words or writing, as he findeth himſelfe guiltie or not, ſo may hee make anſwere; and hauing haplie ſpoken ſuch words, he may in vſing generall words find an euaſion: yea the debating of ſuch a Conditional quarrell may be ſo handled, as he who gaue the Lie conditionall, ſhall vtter ſome ſpeach whereon to receiue a Lie certeine. If therefore he who is charged with a Lie conditional, haue not indeed ſaid that wherewith he is charged, then ought he ſay, *I neuer ſpake any ſuch thing*, & thereunto adde another Lie, either Generally or Conditionallie vttered thus. *Whoſoeuer ſaith that I haue ſpoken ſuch words, he lieth:* or thus. *If thou or any man els will affirme I haue ſo ſaid, thou lieſt.*

Albeit this manner of proceeding from one lie to another, and from one condition to another, doth ſeldome occaſion other effect than the multiplying of words: yet doo we often ſee that queſtions are ſo handled,

handled,and consequentlie no good or honorable resolution dooth followe. Wherefore to auoide all doubts,it behoueth Gentlemen and other persons of honor or credite, to shunne all Conditionall lies, and before he doth offer the Lie, either by confession of the partie or witnesse worthie credite,bee assured he hath cause to giue the Lie.So shal the Lie be certeine, and the belied forced, either to denie that he said, or stand to the iustification thereof.

Of Lies generall.

Cap. 7.

A Lie generall may bee in two sorts,in respect of the person, and in respect of the iniurie. The Lie is generall in respect of the Person, when no man to whom it is giuen is named,as thus. *Who euer hath said that I haue been a Rebell to my Prince, doth lie.* To this manner of Lie no man is bound to make answere, because many may haplie haue so said, and that so being, he that giueth the Lie should be forced to fight with them all, which were inconuenient. For it is vnlawfull vpon one quarrell to fight oftner than once, and vnfit that one man should hazard his reputation vpon the sword of another man. Wherfore to remooue such disorders, it hath been thought good that this kind of Lie should bee vnlawfull, of none effect, and disallowed.

Touching the other Lie which we call general in respect of the iniurie,is thus. *Simon, thou hast said euill of me,and spoken words in preiudice of mine honestie, and therefore I say thou liest.* This manner of Lie,not being giuen

giuen vpon any matter certeine, or words ſpeciallie repeated, is to none effect: and therefore if hee who giueth ſuch a Lie, intendeth to make a iuſt quarrell, it behoueth him to ſet downe in writing, the verie words whervpon he giueth the Lie. For beſides that, ſuch lies doo not bind the aduerſe partie, they are alſo perilous, and apt to be returned. I ſay therfore that forſomuch as a Lie generall is of ſmall effect, & therwith fit to bee wreſted againſt the giuer thereof, it ought of all Gentlemen to be vtterlie refrained.

Of Lies ſpeciall.

CAP. 8.

LIes ſpeciall are thoſe which are giuen vnto ſpeciall perſons, and vpon expreſſe and particular matter: as for example, Gregorie, *thou haſt ſaid that vpon the day of Battaile at* Grauling, *I abandoned mine Enſigne and charge; for which ſaying thou haſt lied.* This is that Lie which (as is before ſaid) I call a Lie certein & lawful; yet is it to be intended that he who giueth this Lie either by word or writing, ought firſt to be enformed fullie, and haue ſufficient proofe and witneſſe of that he ſaith, ſo as the ſame cannot be denied. For wanting due proues, he to whom the Lie was giuen, may anſwere, that I lie in charging him with ſuch words as he neuer vttered, and in that caſe it ſhall behoue me to proue the reproach wherewith I haue charged him: but if hee cannot denie that wherewith he is charged, then muſt he either mainteine his ſpeach, or confeſſe the fault.

Here is to be noted, that in ſuch quarells wherein

manifeſt falſhood and vntruth appeareth, no Prince ought to permit any Combat: neither ought Gentlemen be aſhamed in ſuch caſes to refuſe the fight; becauſe it is a thing more honorable for reſpect of reaſon to refuſe Combat, than performe the ſame without cauſe or obligation. Seeing then that this ſort of Lie, whereof we preſentlie entreate, is onlie true and lawfull; therefore it behoueth Gentlemen, and all others profeſsing Honor and Armes, therewith to giue repulſe vnto ſuch iniuries as are offered: and deſiring to ſhewe the cauſe of their offence either by word or writing, they muſt ſo plainlie and ſincerelie ſet downe the intent thereof, as no part of the affirmation can bee either denied or wreſted to other ſenſe than it was vttered or written, whereby afterwards no doubt ſhall ariſe, who ought to challenge, and who to defend.

Of Vaine Lies.

Cap. 9.

THe ſimple & ignorant ſort of men perſwading themſelues, that he vnto whom the Lie is giuen, doth thereby loſe the election of the weapon; therefore ignorantlie and fooliſhlie they giue the Lie, before they either knowe or aske the queſtion wherefore they ſo doo: as thus. *If thou wilt not ſay I am an honeſt man, thou lieſt in thy throate:* the follie of which ſpeach doth plainlie appeare. For ſeeing the Lie is nothing els but an anſwere, in this the order of nature is changed, & the anſwere vttered before the queſtion asked. Another ſort of ignorant quarrellers

are,

are, that will say thus. *If any man hath said euill of me, hee hath lied: and if hee will denie to haue so said, hee also lieth.* This sillie sort of quarrelling, may likewise be called a Lie foolish and vaine: for hee who shall vse such words, doth thereby take vppon him both to propound and to answere, and consequentlie performe the office aswell of Defender as Challenger.

Another sort of these Vaine lies are thus offered: *Simon* meeting with *Lewes* saith, *Draw thy weapon, and I will presentlie prooue thee a Liar and a Varlet: Or if thou wilt not drawe, then art thou a Varlet also.* This maner of Lie is without foundation, cause or reason, & therefore meete to be laughed at. Others there are, who being charged to commit dishoneſt actions, do for the present time depart without making either deniall or answere; but after hauing assembled a number of friends weaponed with aduantage, saith to him that charged him, *Thou liest:* which manner of doing is also cowardlie and foolish. For as euerie accusation or imputation ought be done without aduantage, euen so euerie answere without aduantage, ought be vttered. Also euerie Iniurie offered in presence, should likewise in presence be answered: and if in absence any such wrong bee done, in absence an answere may be made. Finallie, vnto matter of iniurie in writing, the answere ought bee framed in writing: yet is it reason, that if a man armed or accompanied doo offer euill speach or violence to him that is vnarmed and alone; in that case it shall be lawfull to make answere at time more conuenient. But if so be that any man finding and knowing me better armed, accompanied, or prepared than himselfe, will neuer-

theles offer me iniurie; in that caſe it is lawfull for me by words or deedes to repulſe the iniurie, and bee reuenged notwithſtanding mine aduantage, becauſe it was his follie to offer offence, ſeeing my ſtrength. But Gentlemen ſhould euer ſo doo, as the Lie may be no leſſe or more honorablie giuen, than the iniurie was offered.

One other aduantage in offering iniurie may be in this ſort. If any man ſhall offer the ſame in place of priuiledge, or in preſence of the Prince; in that caſe it hath been thought fit that no Lie or other repulſe ſhould be. Neuertheleſſe, it ſeemeth reaſonable, that if it pleaſeth the Prince to know that I am in his preſence or Court iniuried, that it may alſo pleaſe him that I may defend my ſelfe. Yet true it is, that in ſuch places it becommeth the Iniured to temper his anſwere, and vſe words of reuerence, and the rather if he who offereth the iniurie bee a perſon of more reſpect and fauour with the Prince before whom the iniurie was offered, Howſoeuer it be, I take not vpon me to informe what ought in ſuch caſe to bee done, but tell mine opinion as that which I thinke to bee honorable: whereunto I adde, that wiſe Princes wil more patientlie indure the repulſe, than the offer of Iniurie in their preſence.

VVhether to a man Iniured in presence of a Prince, it sufficeth to answere in presence of priuate Gentlemen.

Cap. 10.

HAuing in the former Chapter spoken of Iniurie offered in the Princes presence, it seemeth not vnnecessarie to knowe how such offence is to be repulsed or reuenged. For as it is not easie to haue opportunitie to make repulse before the Prince; so were it also fit to vse respect before persons of so high estate & calling, as heretofore hath been alleadged. But for the more briefe deciding of this question, I will onelie produce the censure of *Don Francisco Maria* Duke of *Vrbin*, which was to this effect. That Princes either through their attention to other weightie affaires, or their seldome experience in trial of Armes, were no lesse, or more ignorant, than other Gentlemen of meane reputation. And therefore concluded, that to an Iniurie offered in the presence of a Prince, it sufficed to make answere before priuate Gentlemen, as persons vnto whom the knowledge and experience of Armes and Honor apperteined: Such was the opinion of that Duke, a Prince in his life and place reputed no lesse skilfull in poynts of Honor, than all other waies vertuous. Whereunto may be added, that in matter of Armes, al Emperours, King and Princes, haue euer vouchsafed to be called by the name of Gentlemen and Soldiers. And therefore it standeth with good reason, that an answere

made in the presence of Gentlemen and Soldiers, should be of vertue sufficient to repulse an Iniurie offered before a Prince of what title so euer.

Of the Returne of Lies.

Cap. 11.

HEretofore wee haue said, that hee vnto whom the Lie is giuen for a repulse of iniurie, ought be the Challenger: yet for more certeintie of that saying, wee are diligentlie to examine what sort of Lies are lawfull. It is therefore to be vnderstood, that the true and proper nature of the Lie, is to repulse Iniurie, and whensoeuer it worketh not that effect, it becommeth Iniurie, and by another Lie may bee returned. Also it is to bee noted, that in one selfesame quarrell aswell vnto a Deniall as an Affirmation, the Lie may bee giuen. The Lie lawfullie giuen vnto an affirmation is that, whereof we haue before spoken, as thus. One man saith vnto another, *He is a Rebell to his Prince:* He answereth, *Thou liest:* and this kind of Lie cannot bee auoyded, because it is giuen for repulse vnto an infamie directly offered. But if I, speaking of other do say, *He is an honest man*, and one standing by, doth giue mee the Lie: in that case the Lie shall not be reputed a repulse, but an Iniurie; and it is lawfull for me to say, that gainsaying the commendation I gaue, *he lieth*; because he encountereth my affirmation, and seemeth to denie that all men are holden honest, til prose be made of the contrarie. Wherfore it behoueth him that denied the man to bee honest, to prooue such deniall: in the meane time he is burthened

burthened and bound to challenge me.

But let vs now ſpeake of Lies giuen vpon the negatiue which are either lawfull, or may lawfullie bee returned: as if any man doth ſay of me, *That in ſuch a ſeruice of Armes I had not done my duetie*, and I ſhould anſwere with the Lie, that ſhall be a lawfull anſwere. Yet if a man ſhall ſay, *That he hath not failed of fidelitie vnto his Prince*, and I ſay he lieth; then is it lawful for him to anſwere, *Thou lieſt in ſaying I lie*, and conſequentlie force me to challenge; becauſe in affirming his owne fidelitie he doth not iniurie to any man: but I denying thereof, doo greatlie wrong him, and therfore reaſonablie the Lie to be returned vpon me. Now it reſteth to produce ſome example, how in one ſelfeſame quarrell, both vpon the affirmatiue and negatiue the Lie may be giuen, ſo as neither the one nor the other partie hath apparant place of repulſe, as in this caſe.

Two Gentlemen being in the field prepared to fight, do there fall into diſputation, whether the weapons be lawfull or not: by meane whereof, the day is ſpent in ſpeach, and nothing done. Herevpon a queſtion grewe whether the weapons were reaſonablie refuſed or not, the one by affirming them to be lawfull, doth burthen the other, and he by denying them to be lawful, doth burthen him; ſo as it reſteth doubtfull who ought to challenge.

Thus much touching the nature of Lies, how they are to be offered, repulſed, or returned. A matter of ſome difficultie to be vnderſtood, yet neceſſarie to be knowne of all Gentlemen.

How vpon euerie Lie, the triall of Armes is not neceſſarie.

CAP. 12.

ALbeit heretofore hath been ſaid, that he who receiueth the Lie ought to bee Challenger, yet is not our meaning that vpon euery Lie giuen, the triall of the ſword ſhould forthwith followe. For ſeeing the triall by Armes is incerteine, and the ciuill trial aſſured, therefore it behoueth euerie Gentleman to be iuſtified rather by this, than the other triall. And indeed it is no leſſe expedient for Gentlemen and all others profeſsing Armes, to knowe when to put vp, than when to drawe their weapons. Who ſo therefore vpon any affirmation ſhall bee lawfullie and orderlie offered the Lie (hauing meanes to make ſuch proofe) ought by ciuill and reaſonable triall make iuſtification, and not take ſword in hand, till neceſsitie ſo enforceth, and he who findeth himſelfe offered anie vniuſt or vnlawfull Lie, may either trauerſe it, or vtterlie diſdaine it.

Of the forme of a Cartell or Letter of Defiance.

CAP. 13.

IN ſuch places as publique Combats were permitted by Princes, the cuſtome was that the parties agreed to fight, ſhould challenge one the other, by ſome inſtrument in writing, which they commonlie called a *Cartel*: but that cuſtome being now diſcontinued,

tinued, he who challengeth doth ſend ſome Letter to that effect, which ought bee framed in briefe termes, and thereby to expreſſe in ſhort and proper words the effect of the quarrell and iniurie, bee it in words or deeeds. Alſo to ſet downe expreſſie the particularities of the matter, the perſons, the times, & places, which for the true expreſsing of the cauſe are required, to the end the aduerſe partie may the better determine of his anſwere. And for that Combat is a kinde of Iudgement, it behoueth no leſſe therein, than in ciuill triall that particular proones & circumſtances ſhould be expreſſed, & that he who challengeth ſhould ſummon his aduerſarie, and he that is Defender produce the Lie.

In this writing it alſo behoueth to vſe al plainnes of words & phraſes, leauing aſide eloquence and ambiguitie of ſpeach; for it ſufficeth a man being offred any iniurious ſpeach, doo ſay, *Thou lieſt*, without adding any word thereunto. It is alſo to bee knowne, that the Defender ought haue the electiõ of the place and weapon. For no reaſon were it that I ſhould both challenge another man, and alſo appoynt him to fight with what weapon pleaſeth me. One thing I thinke good more to aduertiſe, that it ſeemeth vnto mee a thing verie honeſt, and worthie a Gentleman, that all ſpeaches and writings of or to an Enemie, ſhould bee in good and honorable termes; for thereby the ſpeaker or writer ſhal honor himſelfe, and declare he hath to doo with a perſon of reputation; for otherwiſe he ſhall diſgrace his owne iudgement, in medling with men vnworthie, and ſuch as are vnfit to be regarded.

THE SECOND BOOKE.

Of Iniurie and Burthen.

Cap. 1.

WE haue alreadie diſcourſed what Iniurie is, and how the ſame ought be repulſed: now is to be informed in what caſes Princes and Supreme gouernours may graunt or denie the triall of Combat. I ſay therefore, that the office of euerie Prince moued to graunt Combat, is firſt to conſider the nature and qualitie of the quarrell, to the end he may aſſuredlie know whether it be of ſuch importance as requireth the triall of the ſword, and cannot otherwiſe be determined. For it is a rule certeine, that euerie queſtion or quarrell that may be decided by ciuil authoritie and prooues, ought not in any wiſe bee tried in Combat. But for more particular knowledge of this matter, you ſhall vnderſtand, that we call an act done contrarie to reaſon, *Iniurie*, or (as ſome do terme it) *Offence* or *Wrong:* and the Burthen, is a certeine naturall obligation, whereby a man ſtandeth bound to repulſe or mainteine the matter in queſtion. Wherefore, whenſo-

uer

euer we ſee a man burthened or charged, it is preſentlie and conſequentlie looked for, that he ought to be a Challenger. It is alſo to bee knowne, that otherwhiles one man may doo vnto another ſuch an act as may be both an Iniurie, and a Burthen: ſo may alſo an Iniurie bee done without Burthen, and a Burthen without Iniurie.

An Iniurie ioyned with Burthen is thus. If a man ſhall charge me with an euill fact neuer by me committed, whereby (contrarie to all reaſon) he ſeeketh my ſlaunder, hereby he offereth me Iniurie, and the Burthen he laieth vpon me, is, for that I ſtand bound to repulſe and make anſwere vnto ſuch outragious words, and conſequentlie am forced to anſwere, *He lieth*, whereby I am disburthened, & lay the burthen on him, by which meane I become diſcharged of mine obligation, and binde him vnto the proofe and mainteining of his words, which is to mainteine and be a Challenger. And in handling the matter, this is to bee noted, that I onlie doo burthen him without offer of Iniurie, becauſe I make this anſwere vpon a iuſt and reaſonable cauſe, onlie with intent to lay the Burthen on him.

An Iniurie without Burthen is in two ſorts, *viz.* in word or in deed, as thus. If one man ſhall charge another in word, with that which is manifeſtlie falſe; in that caſe it is not neceſſarie to make any anſwere at all, becauſe he who ſpeaketh ſuch words, proueth himſelfe an apparant Liar, and therefore not worthie of ſo much reſpect as to bee anſwered; ſo are thoſe words Iniurie, but no Burthen. An Iniurie in deedes without Burthen, is, when one man offereth vnto an

other violence with aduantage, or in such euill sort, as the fact appeareth to bee done contrarie to honor and reason; in that case, to what purpose should the Iniured challenge the Iniurer? seeing the matter to be plaine and apparant. But haplie it may bee said by him that is iniured, *Shall I rest without reuenge?* Therevnto may bee answered by Princes, or others hauing authoritie to graunt Combat, that to admit triall by Armes is onlie lawfull for the finding out and iustification of truth; but the punishment of wilfull acts contrarie to peace, is by ciuill authoritie to be performed. And in mine opinion, whosoeuer receiueth an Iniurie in deedes dishonorablie offered, is thereby neither dishonored nor burthened: and for reuenge of such cowardlie and beastiall offences, it is allowable to vse any aduãtage or subtiltie, according to the Italian prouerbe, *A'd vna sopercheria, si conuiene vn'altra sopercheria, & ad vn tradimento vn altro tradimento*, which is, that one aduantage requireth another, and one treason may be with another acquited.

How shamefull and dishonorable it is to offer iniurie with aduantage, and cowardly.

CAP. 2.

IT may seeme straunge that heretofore wee haue said, that a traiterous Iniurie might be in like sort reuenged; yet is it verie reasonable that so it should be: and though it were not, yet doth he that offereth such an Iniurie incurre apparant Infamie, without burthening him vnto whom it is offered. For what reason can mainteine that any man should bee worthie

thie of Infamie, that was by another cowardlie and sodeinlie hurt or striken? Nay, who is he that will not blame him that offereth such an Iniurie, and acquite him vnto whom it was done? To conclude therfore, I say, the Infamie is due vnto him that wilfullie doth a dishonorable wrong, not to him that receiueth it: for no man wanteth power to refraine a wicked action, no man wanteth power to performe his promise, no man is forced to be a traitor: & therefore, whosoeuer falleth into any such fault, becommeth odious and infamous: besides that, in offending cowardlie, he seemeth to want vertue and courage required in a Gentleman. By ancient custome it hath therefore been determined, that if any man hauing committed such cowardlie and foule facts, shal afterwards challenge another Gentleman, he may in respect of the Infamie due for his former doings, bee lawfullie refused.

I will also aduise all Gentlemen to eschue one other vile and cuill abuse, which is this. A man hauing offered iniurious words, and is lawfully belied, he may not with a cowardlie stroake or touch of a cudgill, or any such like meanes, thinke to bee acquited of the burthen, as some men haue supposed; yet the vulgar sort do thinke that to giue a blowe, or spit in the face of a man, and runne away, dischargeth a lawfull Lie, which is farre otherwise. Mine opinion therefore is, that a man directlie is not discharged by any such act, but standeth still burthened to prooue that affirmation, whereupon the Lie was giuen him, and consequentlie must challenge.

That euerie Lie giuen, ought not to occasion Combat.

CAP. 3.

FOrsomuch as the Lie is not indeede the cause of fight, but the occasion; it is not necessarie that vppon euerie Lie giuen, Combat should foorthwith followe. For if the fault wherewith a man is accused, bee not such as requires triall in Armes, than doth not the Lie giuen thereupon bind him, because the qualitie of the Iniurie and not of the Lie is to bee respected. Therefore in euerie lawe whereby Combats are permitted, the causes are expreslie and particularlie declared, as both by the lawe of *Lombardie* and the *Emperial* constitutions appeareth.

For what causes the Combat is to be graunted.

CAP. 4.

A Thing most certeine it is, that to reduce the antient customes to the vse of present time, were not onelie hard and difficult, but also impossible: wherefore omitting to tell of what hath been, we will onelie speake of that which ought be in this matter obserued: I say then that the causes of al quarrell whervpon it behoueth to vse the triall of Armes, may be reduced into two: for it seemeth to me not reasonable, that any man should expose himselfe to the perill of death, saue onelie for such occasions as doo deserue death. Wherfore whensoeuer one man doth

doth accuſe another of ſuch a crime as meriteth death, in that caſe the Combat ought bee graunted. The ſecond cauſe of Combat is Honor, becauſe among perſons of reputation, Honor is preferred before life. Therefore whenſoeuer any ſuch crime is imputed, as by the ciuill lawe is iudged infamous, the Combat and triall of Armes ought be allowed, if by ciuill and ordinarie courſe of law it cannot.

How betweene Padrins, *no fight or quarrell ought to be.*

CAP. 5.

AT ſuch time as publique Combats were by Princes permitted, the cuſtome was, that thoſe vnto whom the field was graunted, did bring with them certeine friends to behold the fight, and ſee that nothing were done contrarie to the agreement and capitulation. For what cauſe theſe men were ſo called I knowe not; but ſome haue thought the name of *Padrine* commeth of the latin word *Pater*, which ſignifieth father, or of *Patrini*, which ſignifieth a perſon, vnto whoſe charge or tuition another was commended. Howſoeuer it be, theſe *Padrines* in the time of Combat, performed the ſame office which *Aduocates* and *Pleaders* vſe in diſputation of ciuill cauſes. And as they doo not vſe to pay any part of that, wherein the client is condemned, euen ſo no reaſon bindeth that the *Padrine* ſhould fight, or bee called to performe more than the due of his office, ſith the Iniuries, the Lies, the Cartels and Defiances are paſſed betweene the Principalles, and the

Padrins

Padrins ought doo none otherwiſe than as Aduocates. Thus much I thought fit to ſpeake of the office of *Padrins*, becauſe it is oft ſeene, both in publique Combats and priuate alſo, that ſome Gentlemen being choſen to behold the fight, and ſee it bee equallie performed, haue not onelie been the cauſe to kindle newe quarrell, but alſo entred thereinto themſelues contrarie to honor and reaſon.

Of Armes both offenſiue and defenſiue.

Cap. 6.

IT hath been before ſaid, that by the lawe of *Lombardie*, euerie Combat (vnleſſe vpon quarrell of infidelitie) ſhould bee tried with ſhields and ſtaues, and with no other weapon. But the matter of their Combats was onlie for trial of truth, without reſpect of honor. Howſoeuer it were, beſides that cuſtome muſt bee receiued for lawe, it ſeemeth to me that either in publique or priuate fight, ſuch weapons ought bee vſed as are commonlie worne of Gentlemen and others profeſsing Armes. And touching Armes defenſiue, it hath been alſo the vſe, that as they are thought allowable in warre and all generall fights, ſo in particular triall of Armes, they ought not bee reiected; becauſe *Fortitude* accompanied with *Prudence*, is much the more commendable, ſeeing he that vnwiſelie or inconſideratlie aduentureth himſelfe, is not to bee reputed valiant but furious: neither is he accompted valiant, that without councell or cauſe, delighteth in dangers, but he that neuer doth ſhunne any generous action, tending to publique benefite or his

his owne priuate reputation. And *Aristotle* saith, that a valiant man doth neither feare all things, nor dare doo all things. For these respects it hath euer been thought fit, that in particular Combats, the fighters should be allowed Armes defensiue, & not performe the same naked and vtterlie disarmed, with swords and daggers onlie, as is in this part of the world now vsed. And sith the perill of life is no lesse in particular than in publique fight, it seemeth verie reasonable that defensiue Armes should bee allowed; yet so as both the Challenger and Defender be equallie armed & weaponed, which in truth ought be at the election of the Defendant, as heretofore hath been discoursed. But becaus the custome of the land is (and happelie also lawe forbiddeth that any man should be armed saue onlie in the warre) I thinke no Gentleman ought refuse to fight disarmed. And here will I not omit to remember an abuse which hardlie is discontinued, I meane that some English Gentlemen are so obstinatlie addicted to custome, as notwithstanding they doo themselues enter quarrell and bee Challengers, yet will they vse that sort of weapon onelie which pleaseth themselues. An opinion contrary vnto reason, and the vse of all other people, as though antient vse made that weapon only allowable, which reason will also prooue *Vice* as good as *Vertue*, becaus it is no lesse antient.

Of the election of the weapons.

Cap. 7.

FOr good and reaſonable cauſes, many aduantages are due vnto him that is challenged, becauſe he being accuſed and conſtrained to fight, iuſt and true reaſon willeth that he ſhould enioy al honeſt fauour. It hath been therefore well determined, that whoſoeuer is Defender, dooth ſufficientlie acquite himſelfe, and ought bee reputed victorious, if he bee not victored. But on the other ſide, he that challengeth, muſt not onlie eſcape to be vanquiſhed, but alſo vanquiſh his enemie; for otherwiſe he ſhall bee reputed as victored, and loſe the quarrell, which is verie reaſonable, becauſe his office is to prooue, but the Defender is not bound to more than to defend.

Another fauour alſo appertaineth to the Defender, which is, the election of the weapon, which is alſo reaſonablie done, becauſe if another man will voluntarilie call me to triall of the Sword, the choyce of the weapon ought of right to be mine. Yet true it is, that no Defender ought to make election of other Armes either defenſiue or offenſiue, than ſuch as are lawfull, and worne ordinarilie by Gentlemen and Soldiers. Therewith alſo is to be obſerued, that if the queſtion whereupon the Combat or fight groweth, may bee decided by ciuill triall, that then no triall of Armes ought bee enterpriſed. Much more alſo may be added touching the equalitie or diſequalitie of the perſons that enter into fight, and likewiſe of the Armes aſwell defenſiue as offenſiue: but becauſe

publique

publique Combats are now almoſt generallie forbidden, and in this land moſt rarelie vſed, I ſpeake onlie of thoſe things which are to bee knowne for the performance of priuate Combat and fight betweene particular Gentlemen.

How manie waies victorie is gained.

CAP. 8.

AT ſuch time as publique Combats were vſed within a Liſt, or place ſpeciallie appoynted for that purpoſe, there was a Iudge indifferentlie choſen by the fighters, to ſee and determine which of them were victorious, and who was victored. But notwithſtanding the diſcontinuance of thoſe Ceremonies, and the performance of fight by warrante of Princes Letters Pattents; yet doo I thinke it not amiſſe, brieflie to ſet downe in what caſes men were reputed victorious.

1 It is therefore to be knowne, that if the Challenger dooth not vanquiſh the Defender in the day of fight before the Sunne ſetting, he is himſelfe to bee iudged vanquiſhed, and cannot afterwards challenge any other Gentleman to the Combat. This ſort of victorie and this priuiledge is onlie due vnto the Defender, all other trialls are common and indifferent to both the fighters.

2 The next kind of victorie is, when any of the fighters doth yeeld vnto his enemie, either by confeſsing himſelfe not able to defend, to yeeld himſelfe priſoner, or by vttering anie other ſpeach tending to ſubmiſsion.

3 The third is, when any of them doth expreſlie denie or vnſay that he affirmed, & the words whereon the quarrell groweth renouncing the quarrell.

4 Fourthly, hee who runneth away, and abandoneth the Liſts or field where the fight is performed, ought to loſe the victorie, and be adiudged as vanquiſhed, and this is the moſt baſe and diſhonorable ſort of vanquiſhment.

5 He is alſo to be without victorie and vanquiſhed, that is ſlaine within the Liſtes or field: yet is this ſort of vanquiſhing leaſt diſhonorable and infamous, although by auntient cuſtome, to ſuch men as were ſlaine in publique Combats, no buriall was graunted among Chriſtian bodies.

What was ancientlie due vnto ſuch as were victorious in publique Combats.

CAP. 9.

ALbeit I am not ignorant that this diſcourſe is little or nothing pertinent to priuat Combat or quarrell: yet for that it concerneth a matter verie pleaſant to vs, & glorious for thoſe that haue been victorious, I will brieflie ſet downe what was due by antient order of Armes, vnto ſuch Gentlemen as in publique Combat were victorious.

1 Whoſoeuer was vanquiſhed within the Liſtes, was the priſoner of him that did vanquiſh. To him alſo was due all Armes both offenſiue and defenſiue, garments and horſe, with all furniture brought thether either for ornament or vſe.

2 The perſon of him that was vanquiſhed, was by hono-

honorable cuſtome giuen vnto the Prince of the place, or els vnto ſome other Prince whom he ſerued or loued; but this was done by vſe, and not of duetie.

3 The vanquiſhed alſo might be compelled to pay the charges of the vanquiſher.

4 The vanquiſhed might be forced to pay ranſome no leſſe, than if he had been a priſoner of the warre. But if the priſoner or vanquiſhed did ſerue the vanquiſher the ſpace of fiue yeares in ſeruices meete for a Gentleman, than ought he bee ſet at libertie freelie without payment. And if in the meane time he were employed in any baſe act or ſeruice vnworthie his degree, than was it lawful for him to eſcape & breake priſon. Or if it happened that during the impriſonment, any land or other wealth came vnto the priſoner, yet was it not lawfull for the victorious to encreaſe the ranſome.

5 If the victorious did die within the time that the victored was a priſoner, than ſhould his heire haue the ſame title and intereſt.

6 If a priſoner were ſuffered to go at libertie vpon his faith giuen, he ought in any wiſe returne whenſoeuer he was called, vnleſſe the victorious did become a Traitor to their cõmon Prince, or were excõmunicate, or that betweene thẽ were ſome new enmitie: for in thoſe cauſes, it was lawful not to returne.

7 If being in this ſort at libertie, he happened to become a Prince or Lord, then ſhould he not be bound to returne, but pay ranſome onlie.

8 If during the time of impriſonment he were not well vſed, he was not bound to returne, yet ought he pay a conuenient ranſome.

9 If the priſoner did happen to ſaue his taker from any great perill during the impriſonment, he ought by the lawe to be forthwith ſet at libertie.

THE THIRD BOOKE.

VVhat ſorts of men ought not bee admitted to triall of Armes.

CAP. 1.



FOrſomuch as the triall of Armes apperteineth onelie to Gentlemen, and that Gentilitie is a degree honorable, it were not fit that anie perſons of meaner condition, ſhould thereunto be admitted. VVherefore, as the Iudges of ciuill trials, doo ordinarilie reiect the teſtimonie of ſuch as are accompted Infamous; euen ſo in Martial triall, a perſon honorable ought not by men of baſe qualitie be accuſed: for how can he charge another with anie crime, that hath himſelfe committed an offence againſt his owne reputation.

1 It hath been therefore ordeined and determined, that no man hauing committed treaſon againſt his Prince or Countrie, ſhall be admitted.

2 He alſo may bee repulſed that hath had intelligence or conference with the enemie of his Prince or Countrie, or that being taken of them, doth there remaine, hauing meanes to returne vnto his Princes ſeruice.

3 He

3 He that becommeth a Spie or explorator for the Enemie, or that taketh an oth againſt his Prince, or that taketh a Princes Pay and departeth before he hath ſerued the full time.

4 He that abandoneth the Armie of his Prince, and fleeth vnto the Enemie, or being diſcharged doth go vnto the Enemie in the time of Skirmiſh or fight, ſhall be reputed as infamous, and alſo a Traitor.

5 He that abandoneth the Enſigne of his Prince or Capteine, or that either by day or night ſhall malicioufliе depart from the place of his charge about his Princes perſon, or in the Campe.

6 Among theſe we will accompt all Theeues, Beggers, Bawdes, Victuallers, perſons excommunicate, Vſurers, perſons baniſhed the Armie, and euerie other man exerciſing an occupation or trade, vnfit and vnworthie a Gentleman or Soldier.

7 Finallie, whoſoeuer is defamed of any notable crime, or is by the lawe of the land not admitted to beare witneſſe, may bee numbered among them that lawfullie are repulſed; theſe men, I ſay, challenging any Gentleman or Soldier, ought not onelie bee refuſed, but of euerie honeſt perſon to bee abhorred, becauſe in fighting with men of ſuch condition, a man of good reputation dooth equall himſelfe vnto perſons vtterly vnworthie. Yet true it is, that whoſoeuer repulſeth a perſon for cauſe of Infamie, muſt aſſuredlie know, that he hath been for ſuch crimes condemned, or at the leaſt the ſame is a thing ſo notorious, as the partie repulſed cannot denie it. But if any ſuch infamous man bee challenged by a Gentleman or Soldier, he may not after bee refuſed, vnleſſe that after

challenge

challenge he committeth ſome infamous fact, which is to be obſerued aſwell in the Challenger as the Defender.

VVhether a Baſtard may challenge a Gentleman to Combat.

CAP. 2.

FOr that by lawe no Baſtard can inherit the lands and honors of his ſuppoſed father, it may be reaſonablie doubted, whether he be of ſuch condition as may challenge a Gentleman to trial of Armes. Notwithſtanding, for that ſuch impediment proceedeth not from the Baſtard himſelfe, and that no man ought iuſtlie be repulſed ſauing ſuch as are condemned, or infamed for their owne viletie, me thinks that Baſtardie ought not to diſable a man to bee admitted vnto Combat: and S. *Hierome* ſaith, that the fault in birth of ſuch men, is not their owne fault, but theirs that did beget them. Alſo *Chriſoſtome* writeth thus, we ought not to bee aſhamed of the vice of our Parents, but endeuour our ſelues vnto vertue. Wherevpon wee conclude, that euerie Baſtard hauing well and vertuouſlie ſerued in the warre, or that for his good merite hath aſpired to beare charge of reputation in the Armie, ought be receiued to fight with anie priuate Gentleman or Soldier, becauſe men ſo borne, haue not onelie been oftentimes aduanced to honor, but they and their poſteritie alſo, haue atteined and continued in high dignitie and greateſt eſtimation.

True it is, that men ſo borne, cannot mainteine them-

themſelues to bee Gentlemen by birth, and therefore directlie muſt not claime ſuch title, or enter the triall of Armes, and therefore in that reſpect may be repulſed, not as infamous, but as ignoble, which defect either by valorous indeuour in Armes, or vertuous ſtudie in learning may be ſupplied.

Alſo all ſuch Baſtards as haue long ſerued loyallie in their Princes Court, & that by priuiledge of their Prince are made legitimate, or hath liued orderlie among other Gentlemen, in place of reputation, may not be repulſed.

Of Reſtitution of Honor.

Cap. 3.

ALbeit euerie Soueraigne Prince hath power to pardon diſloyaltie, treaſon, and euerie other offence cõmitted againſt his perſon, Crowne or dignitie, & can alſo reſtore vnto the partie pardoned, his lands and his offices, with any other fauour: yet cã he not vndo that is done, nor bring to paſſe that to be well done, which is alreadie euill done, nor that a mind infected with Infamie, ſhould bee cleane and voyd of diſhonor, & conſequently (notwithſtanding reſtitution) the Prince hath ſtill iuſt cauſe to bee ſuſpicious of ſuch a mans fidelitie, as is apt to be drawne to diſhoneſt actions, and euerie other Gentleman ſhould hold him in euill conceipt.

Moreouer, touching the power and authoritie of Princes, in this caſe it ſeemeth that as they cannot bereaue the good men of their goodnes, ſo can they not take from the euill their euill thoughts, ſeeing their

iuriſdiction extendeth vnto the wealth and perſons of Subiects, but ouer the minds of men they haue no power. My Prince can make me at his pleaſure rich or poore, but to make me good or bad is not in his power, for that apperteineth onlie to Gods grace and mine owne endeuour.

It may therefore be inferred, that if a man reſtored after the committing of any notorious euill fact, ſhall challenge another Gentleman to triall of Armes, he may bee reaſonablie repulſed. Yet am I of opinion, that the reſtitution ſhould be of force in the children and poſteritie of the perſon infamed and condemned, as they that ought not ſuffer the puniſhment due to the offences of another, chieflie in reſpect of Baptiſme, whereby all the ſinne of forefathers is clenſed.

Of the diſequalitie of Gentlemen.

Cap. 4.

BEfore wee enter into conſideration of this matter, I thinke good to aduertiſe, that as there be diuers ſorts of men that may not challenge others, ſo are there ſome that ought not be challenged of anie. The firſt of them is Clarkes, or Eccleſiaſtical perſons, profeſsing religion. The other ſort is Doctors, with all Students, and ſuch men as are onlie giuen to literature and knowledge. But to returne vnto diſequalitie of noble perſons, I ſay that the true nobilitie of men, is *Vertue*, and that he is truelie noble that is vertuous, bee he borne of high or of lowe Parents. And the more highlie he be borne, the worſe reputation

tion he meriteth, if he cannot continue the honor left him by his Anceſtors. *Chriſoſtome* ſaith, what honor is it to bee well borne, being defiled with vile conditions: or what hurteth baſe parentage to him, that is with gentle manners adorned? Who ſo vaunteth of his Anceſtors, ſeemeth without any good thing of his own. *Seneca* ſaith, that who ſo will trulie iudge what worthines is in man, muſt conſider of him naked, laying aſide his liuings and titles of honor, with all other fauours of fortune. He muſt alſo imagine him without bodie, and then weigh of what value or excellencie he is in minde, becauſe nobilitie is placed in the minde, and in the minde it appeareth.

Now to ſpeake of diſequalitie, I ſay that albeit Emperours, Kings, Princes, great Lords, and meane alſo, are compriſed within the name of Gentlemen and Soldiers, yet is there among them ſuch inequalitie, as no Gentleman of what title ſoeuer, may bee cõpared vnto a King, nor any Soldier vnto an Emperour, whereof we wil ſpeake hereafter more at large.

Touching the diſequalitie of priuate nobilitie, thus is it to bee diſcourſed. All Gentlemen are either without office, either els they haue office or dignitie, as the gouernment of Townes, Countries, Ambaſſages, or commandements in warre. Who euer of them hath any office or employment, either it is giuen him for time or life. If he bee an officer for time, and is occaſioned to anſwere in Armes, he may defer the Cõbat till the expiration of his time in office.

If the office be for life, & the qualitie thereof ſuch as maketh him Superiour to the aduerſarie, he may fight by Champion.

If ſuch an officer be not Superiour to the enemie, he ought aske leaue of his Prince, and not obteining it, ſhall without licenſe go vnto the place of Combat, and with Armes anſwere the Enemie; for the obligation of honor is to bee preferred before all other. Whoſoeuer is borne noble (vnder which word is compriſed all ſorts of nobilitie and gentilitie) is equal to any other Gentleman of priuate condition. Note here, that in ſaying a Gentleman borne, we meane he muſt be deſcended from three degrees of gentry, both on the mothers and fathers ſide, ſuch is the opinion of *Paris*.

A Gentleman deſcended of the moſt noble houſe, not hauing iuriſdiction or commandement, may be challenged of any priuate or particular Gentleman. Alſo in reſpect that the profeſsion of Armes is honorable, a Soldier that hath long ſerued without reproach, ought be accompted a Gentleman.

Alſo a Scholler hauing continued the ſtudie of good learning, & is aſpired to the degrees of ſchooles, cannot be denied the title of gentrie.

A ſimple Soldier of honeſt fame, may fight with any other Soldier, Corporall, Sergeant, or other officer, the Capteine excepted, and he alſo may bee challenged to anſwere by Champion.

Euerie Capteine may challenge another Capteine, vnleſſe their charges bee ſuch as the one can command the other, and this rule muſt ſerue through all degrees of Soldiers, both on horſeback and foot: yet is it to bee vnderſtood, that men at Armes being the moſt honorable ſort of Soldiers and in continuall pay, (being for the moſt part Gentlemen) may not be

refuſed

refuſed to fight with any priuate Capteine of footmen.

It may be alſo that a Capteine of footmen ſhould fight with a Capteine of horſemen, were it not that thoſe charges are giuen to Noble men, & the charge of men at Armes to the moſt Noble: yet is conſideration to be had aſwell of their birth as their charges. For the Capteine in meaner place, may bee ſo honorablie borne, as he ought not be repulſed: which reſpect is alſo to bee had among Capteines, both on horſebacke and foote, and likewiſe among all horſemen, and Soldiers on foote in particular.

Of Iniurie done with aduantage.

Cap. 5.

HEretofore hath been ſaid, that no Iniurie offered with aduantage, ought to burthen him in reputation vnto whom the ſame was offered, and that ſuch Iniuries may in like ſort bee reuenged, which being a thing verie naturall and reaſonable, needeth no further proofe. Notwithſtanding, to the intent each man may bee fullie enformed what Aduauntage is, wee thinke fit ſomewhat to ſay thereof.

Aduantage in general is, when one man doth iniurie vnto another, ſo, and in ſuch time and place as the Iniured cannot be reuenged: but to ſpeake thereof in particular, thus may it be ſaid for example.

If one man being armed doth aſſault another diſ-

armed,or that he be better armed,that we call aduantage.

If a man in office or place of dignitie,hauing about him friends or ſeruants, doth offer iniurie to another of meaner eſtate,that is (likewiſe) Aduantage.

If two or more men, doo hurt or ſtrike another, ſo as the man hurt is not able to make preſent reuenge,that is alſo Iniurie with aduantage.

By theſe fewe examples, may all other aduantagious Iniuries be conceiued: but therewith is to bee remembred, that the diſhonor and burthen of ſuch acts doo apperteine vnto the Iniurer, and the iniurie onelie reſteth vpon the Iniured without burthen, vnleſſe he ſhewe apparant ſignes of cowardiſe: wherevpon may bee inferred, that no Iniurie with aduantage dooth occaſion any neceſſarie quarrell, ſith no man is neceſſarilie bound to challenge; but onelie he that ſtandeth charged and burthened. For if an Iniurie with aduantage did burthen the reputation of the Iniured, then were it eaſie for euerie coward to burthen the moſt valiant man aliue, becauſe ſuch Iniuries are moſt ſafelie offered. It ſeemeth therefore good in this caſe to diſtinguiſh the nature of aduantagious Iniuries,which may be in this manner.

Either the Iniurie with aduantage is offered in preſence of other men that can beare witneſſe thereof, or els it is offered out of preſence of others.

In the firſt caſe, the teſtimonie of witneſſes will make the fact puniſhable by lawe and ciuill triall, which is the true reuenge, for (as hath been oft ſaid) the triall of Armes is not allowed, but in ſuch caſes as the ciuill prooues cannot appeare.

If

If the Iniurie bee offered where no man can witneſſe the manner thereof, then reſteth it in the choyce of the Iniured, either to bee reuenged by challenge, which is the more honorable, or with the like aduantage. At ſuch time as Princes were pleaſed to graunt licenſe for the triall of reputation in publique Combat, whoſoeuer was knowne to haue offered this ſort of Iniurie (with all others his Aiders and Abettors) were publiſhed and proclaimed as perſons Infamous. What hath been ſaid of theſe Iniuries in deedes, is likewiſe to bee vnderſtood where they are offered in words. Note alſo that an Iniurie receiued without aduantage, either by word or deed, may not bee diſcharged with an Iniurie of words or deedes done with aduantage, as thus.

A blowe giuen by hand without aduantage, is not truelie diſcharged with tenne blowes of the hand or cudgell with aduantage. For it is not reaſonable that a diſhoneſt fact done with aduantage, ſhould reuerſe an honeſt fact done in good ſort and manfullie. The cauſe why Iniurie with aduantage doth not burthen the Iniured, is, becauſe no lawe in the world commandeth things impoſsible.

Of Iniuries euill offered.

Cap. 6.

ONe other ſort of Iniurie there is not farre vnlike vnto the former, yet ſomewhat diuers from it, which for the preſent wee will call Iniuries in euill ſort offered, as thus.

If one man doth ſtrike another ſodeinlie behinde his

his back, that Iniurie is not done with any aduantage of companie or weapon, and therefore is not properlie ſaid to bee an aduantagious Iniurie: yet is it not manfull or honeſt, but vile and cowardlie, and the more if the Iniurer hauing giuen the blowe, dooth runne away.

If a man doth caſt a Dagger, Sword, or other thing of offence, and therewith hurt, that may be alſo reputed an Iniurie in euill ſort.

If a man bearing diſpleaſure towards another, will cauſe his friend or ſeruant to ſtrike him; that may be alſo reputed an Iniurie euill offered.

Alſo, if I in wordes ſhall ſpeake iniuriouſlie or ſlaunderouſly of another man in his abſence, or cauſe others ſo to do; that may be alſo accompted an Iniurie euill offered and out of time.

Of Satisfaction.

Cap. 7.

MAny men do hold opinion, that Iniuries committed by deedes, cannot by words bee ſatiſfied. But this matter is not to bee conſidered ſimplie, by compariug words vnto deedes, but by the weight and greatnes of the diſhonor that is receiued by the fact and the words, & alſo of the ſhame which I offer vnto my ſelfe and is offered by others. For whether doo we thinke a Gentleman leſſe commendable that traiterouſlie hurteth another, or him that by ſuch meanes receiueth the harme, which may bee alſo ſaid of him that offendeth with aduantage, or that giueth a hurt in euill ſort. In mine opinion there

is

is no doubt to answere this question, because in ordinarie reason the offender ought to be blamed, & not he that is offended, as hath been heretofore discoursed. Notwithstanding, if I hauing done such an act, doo confesse the iniurious manner thereof, and say that without cause the same was by me committed, and consequentlie desire pardon, there is no reason but that he who receiued the iniurie should rest satisfied. For I knowe no offence so great, as is vnpardonable vppon such submission, and the more for that the nature of all generous minds is enclined to compassion and forgiuenes.

Yet contrarie to my conceipt, some others doo hold, that if I haue done any iniurious deede, no satisfaction sufficeth, vnlesse I freelie yeeld my selfe into the hands of him who is iniured, and stand at his mercie; which seemeth vnto mee a course verie doubtfull and vnlike to receiue good. For if the Iniured with his owne hand shall doo any thing to his satisfaction, in so doing he sheweth no courtesie, and consequentlie doubleth the anger and quarrell. Or if without other demonstration, forgiuenes be taken as a satisfaction, then will the matter rest suspicious, as a thing agreed on before, and preiudiciall vnto the reputation of him that is iniured. But true it is, if a man should vnaduisedlie or rashlie offend me, & presentlie knowing his error, fall downe at my feete, deliuer me his weapon and pray pardon; in that case there is no doubt, but that I ought rest satisfied, and he freed frō suspition. But if the matter be not at the first thus handled, and the bloud cooled, then seemeth it hard how to cōpasse a peace by way of remission.

Now to confirme that was before ſaid, that words are of effect ſufficient to ſatiſfie an Iniurie by deede, I ſay if a man greatlie harmed by another, doth write that he intendeth to prooue the hurt receiued of him to bee iniuriouſlie and vngentlemanlie done, and the Iniurer will anſwere and confeſſe he hath indeede done euill, and an act not iuſtifiable; ſurely no reaſon would that afterwards any quarrell or obligation of honor ſhould remaine. The like ſatiſfaction ought be receiued from the mouth of the Iniurer, and therfore conclude, that Iniuries by deedes may with words be recompenſed.

What ſatisfaction is to be giuen for an Iniurie by Deedes.

CAP. 8.

BEcauſe the ground & ſubſtãce of this matter cõſiſteth in knowing the truth; he that hath done wrong, ought in reaſon to confeſſe it; and hee that hath right, ſhould mainteine it: therefore when any man iuſtlie offended hath taken a reuenge conuenient according to the qualitie of the offence, to make a peace betwixt theſe parties, the matter muſt be thus handled. He that hath made the reuenge ſhall ſay: Verie ſorie I am to haue had occaſion to vſe any act of reuenge, and without that occaſion, if I had done thus, I ſhould not haue done wel, & as a Gentleman ought to do, or other words to like effect. After which words pronounced, the other partie knowing in conſcience that he gaue the occaſion (confeſſing his fault) ought to reſt ſatiſfied, & ſo will, vnleſſe he

he bee a bodie voyde of reaſon. Likewiſe, if two Gentlemen vppon ſome vnkind words doo drawe, and the one hurt the other; to make them friends, the way is thus He that gaue the hurt or wound ſhal ſay, that the Gentleman wounded, behaued himſelfe as a valiant man ought, and although he receiued the hurt yet his vertue did ſufficientlie appeare. Vpon theſe or like ſpeaches, a peace may reaſonablie enſue with reputation to both; for the one by giuing the hurt hath gained honor, and the other receiuing praiſe of his enemie is acquite of euill imputation; whereby all men ſhall knowe, that both the one and the other hath tried himſelfe a manlie and valiant Gentleman.

If one man doth ſtrike or offer violence vnto the other, & preſentlie runne away; or if the partie offended by any other meane, cannot bee preſentlie reuenged: yet in that caſe, if he lay hand on his weapon and endeuour to make reuēge, he ſhal be reputed valiant, and the other a coward. But to make peace betweene them, the onelie way is, that he who offered the violence, ſhall in plaine termes confeſſe the manner how it was done, and pray pardon. And although it may ſeeme contrarie to the courage of man, not to mainteine that is begun; yet when he conſidereth in his owne conſcience, that the act was iniurious and daſtardlie, it ſhall bee better chriſtianlie to repent, than wilfullie to perſiſt againſt all truth and reaſon.

If one man dooth chaunce to hurt another vnwares, or vnknowing him, as ſometimes it happeneth in the night or darke places, the amends muſt be to ſay, I know you not, for knowing, I would not

haue ſo done, nor might ſo doo without offering wrong and diſcourteſie, and therefore pray you hold me excuſed.

Sometimes it happeneth that one challengeth an other to haue ſtriken him, and the other doth denie that ſo he did : in that caſe the ſatiſfaction muſt bee thus. The partie charged to haue ſtriken, ſhall ſay (if ſo the truth be) Indeed I did not ſtrike you, & if I had (hauing no ſuch cauſe) I might iuſtlie bee accuſed of Iniurie. After this ſort, many other queſtions may be ordered, vſing ſuch words and reaſons, as to diſcreete Gentlemen ſhall be thought conuenient. And here I will remember all Gentlemen, making profeſsion of Honor and Truth, that they ſhould not in any wiſe mainteine any vniuſt words or wrongfull action. But being by choler or other occaſion entred into Iniurie, they ought rather reforme their error, than obſtinatlie continue to the offence of their owne conſcience and knowledge. Neither can it be diſhonorable to confeſſe that which is true, nor bee ſorie for miſdooing.

Other meanes of Pacification and compoſition.

CAP. 9.

THe firſt of theſe is, that aſwell the Iniurer as the Iniured ſhould bee drawne into the preſence of ſome honorable perſonage, and before any act of ſubmiſsion or repetition of words before paſſed, to agree and referre the order and ending of all queſtions, vnto one man indifferentlie choſen by conſent of

of both parties. That being done, the man vnto whō this office is committed, ſhall particularlie and a part entreate with the Iniurer to affirme what he will ſay on his behalfe. Then calling the Iniured, ſhall ſay and aſſure him, that the Iniurer hath made a good & reaſonable ſatiſfaction, in euerie thing that may bee preiudiciall to the honor or reputation of the Iniured: And therefore require aſwell the one as the other to ſtand ſatiſfied, and repute themſelues in ſuch eſtate and condition, as they were before the quarrell was commenced. This order hath been oftentimes vſed, and ſatiſfaction ſo made, thought effectual: for ſometimes it prooueth a thing verie difficult to bring the aduerſaries together face to face, before a Iudge or other perſon of authoritie: ſometimes alſo being met, they fall into newe quarrell vpon newe occaſion: either els before they come, a doubt will ariſe how they ſhall bee accompanied, and whether they ſhall come armed or without weapon. Another while there groweth difficultie vpon the words of ſatiſfaction. It hath been alſo ſeene, that in ſuch conference there hath paſſed ſome blowes of the hand, weapon, foote, or other violence, whereby the enmitie was rather encreaſed, than appeaſed. In which reſpects, this order is many times vſed.

Another way is this, that ſome perſon of great authoritie ſhould call the parties afore him, and take a truce vntill hee ſhall at more leiſure conſider of the quarrell, enioyning them in the meane time not to ſpeake or doo any thing either againſt other: which order is couertlie a truce perpetual.

Another way is, that a Prince or perſonage of au-

thoritie, ſhould perſwade with the parties to put the quarrell into his hand, and conſent to reſt ſatiſfied with that he ſhall vpon his honor determine. Diuers other indirect meanes haue been deuiſed for the compounding and appeaſing of Iniuries, which I leaue to the diſcretion of wiſe & valiant Gentlemen.

Of ſatisfaction to be giuen vpon words.

Cap. 10.

IT hath been alreadie ſaid, that the ground of all ſatiſfaction is truth, which cannot be denied: wherfore whenſoeuer one man hath vttered any vntrue imputation of another, hee may without diſcredite confeſſe the thing to be otherwiſe than he ſpake, ſaying in his owne excuſe (vnleſſe the truth bee contrarie) that which I ſaid I thought then to bee true. Or thus. That I ſaid, was tolde mee of others. Or thus. What I ſaid was in my choller. Theſe ſpeaches tending to ſhew the truth to be otherwiſe than was ſaid, the partie offended is disburthened.

If a man hath giuen the Lie to another, and after doth knowe the words wherevpon the Lie was giuen to be true: he may in that caſe without reproach reuoke the Lie, and thereby make ſatiſfaction. And if happelie he make difficultie to vſe ſuch a reuocation directlie, then may he ſay, I confeſſe the words to be true whereof our quarrell groweth, either els he may repeate the words, and therewithal allow them.

Another way to procure ſatiſfaction is, That hee who gaue the Lie ſhall ſay or write vnto the partie belied to this effect: I pray you aduertiſe me by this bearer,

bearer, with what intent you ſpake thoſe words of iniurie, wherevpon I gaue you the Lie. The other will anſwere, I ſpake them in choller, or with no meaning to offend you. Thereunto may be anſwered by him that gaue the Lie, thus. If your words were ſaid onelie in anger, and no intent to challenge me, then do I aſſure you that my Lie giuen ſhall not burthen you, for I acknowledge you to be a true ſpeaker, and a Gentleman of good reputation; wherefore my deſire is, that the ſpeach paſſed betweene vs may bee forgotten. This forme of pacification may ſerue in many caſes, and at ſundrie occaſions.

Sometimes it happeneth, that a man repenting a ſpeach euill ſpoken of another, will after denie that any ſuch words were ſpoken; which ſeemeth no ſul ſatiſfaction, vnleſſe hee adde theſe words: I ſpake it not, or if I had ſpoken it, I ſhould haue ſaid vntruelie. Theſe or like ſpeaches are in this caſe verie conuenient: for if another man ſpeaketh euill of me, by the deniall of his ſpeach he ſhameth himſelfe, but not ſatiſfieth me, vnleſſe he alſo affirme mine innocencie. But a Gentleman hauing indeed ſaid any thing, ought rather confeſſe, than denie what was ſaid: which ſatiſfaction I thinke not diſhonorable, but honeſt, as proceeding from a Chriſtian conſcience.

If a man hath ſaid any thing that is true, yet vnfit to be ſpoken, he ought not denie that ſo he ſaid: but for ſatiſfactiō muſt ſay thus. I ſpake the words without intent to offend, and therefore pray pardon: for indeed to ſpeake a truth with intent to offend, dooth giue iuſt cauſe of offence.

How the giuing of ſatisfaction is a thing not reproachfull.

Cap. 11.

NOw for that ſatiſfaction is commonlie made by meanes of *Vnſaying*,(for by that terme wee will call aſwell euerie reuocation of words, as confeſsion to haue done euil)it may be obiected that if vnſaying be ſo reproachfull, as for it a man may be diſcredited,and of other Gentlemen repulſed; then if I haue ſpoken vntruelie,or done euill by vnſaying or denying thereof, I am to incurre infamie. But for anſwere of that obiection, I ſay, that great difference there is betweene vnſaying in the Liſtes or fields by force of Armes, and that vnſaying which is vttered voluntarilie for the loue of truth; for the one is ſpoken for feare of death, and the other by perſwaſion of reaſon. For hee that perſiſteth to mainteine euill doth condemne himſelfe, as a man that would fight contrarie to iuſtice : but the other ſheweth he will not take Armes for any cauſe, but that which is iuſt. And as the one is the part of an euill and wicked perſon : ſo is the other a ſigne of ſinceritie & loyall meaning. For ſith there is no man liuing faultles, yet he that knoweth his error and repenteth, is moſt to bee excuſed,endeuouring to make ſatiſfaction Therfore that Gentleman who knoweth his owne fault,and laboureth to amend it, doth not onlie deſerue to be excuſed, but is alſo worthie much praiſe in offering ſuch ſatiſfaction as apperteineth to reaſon, and the office of a iuſt and true Chriſtian. To conclude therfore,

fore I say, albeit the vulgar sort doo thinke, that satisfaction is a signe of cowardise: yet who so choseth to fight against reason and truth, ought bee reputed rather a beast than a Christian, and a furious foole rather than a reasonable creature.

THE FOVRTH BOOKE.

Of Nobilitie, accompanied with great dignitie.

Cap. 1.

THe Emperiall lawes haue determined that no man of base calling, ought be admitted to fight with any Gentlemã or other person professing Armes: yet for better conceiuing what Nobilie and Gentilitie is, it behoueth to know, that Nobilitie is (as some haue defined it) auncient riches accompanied with vertuous conditions. Others not allowing that opinion affirme, that riches, being of their owne nature vile, doo nothing helpe towards Nobilitie; and therfore concludeth, that vertue alone sufficeth. *Bartholus* saith, that riches doo helpe to attaine vnto Nobilitie; but to preserue it, *Vertue* onelie hath power. Others doo thinke, that Nobilitie proceedeth from the auncient honor, fame, and title of Predeceſſors; because otherwise a bondman being vertuous, might challenge that honor. Some men al-

ſo haue thought, that as before God he is moſt noble and and worthie, vnto whom is giuen moſt grace; euen ſo hee is moſt honorable among men, whom Princes or lawes haue enhabled vnto dignitie. Howſoeuer it bee, moſt ſure it is, that no man giueth vnto himſelfe any title, but it behoooueth him to receiue it from others. Therefore *Bartholus* concludeth, that to be made noble, it is requiſite the Prince doo beſtowe ſome ſort of dignitie, or title vpon the perſon that is ennobled, to the end he may bee knowne from the Plebeiall people: but we ſay that men may bee reputed noble three waies. Firſt, by nature or diſcent of Aunceſtors, which is the vulgar opinion. Secondlie, for vertue onelie, which the *Philoſophers* affirme. Thirdlie, by mixture of auncient gentle race with *Vertue*, which is indeede the true and moſt commendable kind of Nobilitie: for ſeeing man is a creature reaſonable, he ought bee called man, in reſpect of his owne vertue, and not the vertue of others; which moued *Vliſſes* to ſay vnto *Aiax*, boaſting of Aunceſters.

Et genus, & Proauos, & quæ non fecimus ipſi,
Vix ea noſtra voco &c.

But for better manifeſtation that naturall Nobilitie mixed with *Vertue* is moſt true and perfect, thus may it be prooued. The almightie God hath created all things both in generalitie and ſpecialitie, with a certeine excellencie and bountie, one more perfect than the other, one noble, another ignoble. For amõg ſtones ſome are precious, others of no vertue, and of the

the better ſort of them, ſome more or leſſe precious and orient: euen ſo among liuing creatures both in generalitie & ſpecialitie, we finde ſome courteous & gentle, others rude & voyd of vertue. Much more is the differẽce of nature in men, among whõ the eternall God hath diſpenced his grace to ſome more, & to ſome leſſe, according to his diuine will and pleaſure. Wherefore they ſeeme to erre much, that think Gentilitie in nature hath not any force, when experience proueth that of one raſe and progenie are commonlie wiſe, iuſt, valiant, and temperate men; of another, ſimple, vniuſt, cowardlie, and intemperate perſons. Notwithſtanding, for that we finde in ordinarie obſeruation, that neither the horſe of excellent courage, doth alwaies beget another of like qualitie, nor that the vertuous man hath euer children reſembling himſelfe, wee doo not (hauing proofe of their degeneration) eſteeme either the one or the other: which moued *Iuuenal* to ſay,

Malo Pater tibi Therſites, *dummodo tu ſis*
AEacidæ *ſimilis*, Vulcaniáq; *arma capeſſas*,
Quam te Therſitæ *ſimilem producat* Achilles.

Seeing then that either by naturall inſtinct, nurture or endeuour, ſome men are more vertuous than others, therefore ought they be reputed more gentle, noble, and worthie honor, than are thoſe which are voyd of noble Auncеſters, good education, and induſtrie. For albeit no rule is ſo generall or certeine, but ſometime receiueth exception; yet appeareth it that nature in her owne operation, doth ſeldome di-

greſſe from the order thereof. The Falcon neuer or verie rarelie bringeth forth other bird than a Falcon. The Greihound engendreth a whelpe like vnto himſelfe. Neuertheleſſe, if either that bird in ſhape reſembling her damme, hath not in her like vertue: or that whelpe doth prooue in delight diuers from his ſire, they thereby become either contemned, or little eſteemed. Euen ſo is it among men deſcending from Aunceſters of honor and vertue: for if neither by celeſtiall grace, learning, nor endeuour they aſpire vnto the habit of vertue, then become they thereby vnfit for all publique action, vnprofitable to themſelues, and conſequentlie diſdained, or at the leaſt lightlie regarded, what pedigree, Armes, or badges ſoeuer are to warrant their antiquitie or nobilitie: wherefore eftſoones concluding I ſay with the Poet.

Tota licet veteres exornent vndique ceræ
Atria, nobilitas ſola eſt atque vnica virtus.
Paulus *aut* Coſſus *aut* Druſus *moribus eſto,*
Hos ante effigies maiorum pone tuorum
Præcedant ipſas illi te conſule virgas.
Dic mihi Teucrorum proles, animalia muta
Quis generoſa putet niſi fortia? nempe volucrem
Sic laudamus æquum, facili cui plurima palma
Feruet, & exultat rauco victoria circo.
Nobilis hic, quocunque venit de gramine, cuius
Clara fuga ante alios, & primus in æquore puluis.

whether

VVhether a quarrell betweene two Emperours may be decided by particular Combat.

CAP. 2.

IT happened the Emperiall seate being voyd, the Electors named vnto that dignitie two Princes, not by general cõsent, but by deuisiõ of voyces, the one partie chosing *Alfonso* king of *Spaine*, the other *Richard* Duke of *Cornwal* brother to the King of *England*. These Princes claiming the Empire, the one challenged the other to trie the right by Combat: whereupon grewe a question, whether persons of so high calling ought be admitted to fight in Combat. Thereunto is said, that forsomuch as the Empire in the beginning was gotten by Armes and vertue, and that the execution of all iustice resteth in Armes, it seemeth an Empire in that sort gained, to be more honorable, than if it were giuen by election. Besides that, in such triall, the victorious enioyeth it by diuine iudgement. And for example that Empires haue been so iudged, we reade that the *Romanes* being in warre with the *Albanois*, it was by consent of the one and the other people agreed, that three brethren of the one partie called *Horatij*, should fight with three of the enemies who were also brethren, called *Curiatij*. These men being brought together, after long and doubtfull fight, the victorie fell vnto the *Romanes*, and the *Albanois* (according vnto agreement) willinglie yeelded their Countrie vnto the *Romanes* gouernment. On the contrarie may be alleadged, that forsomuch as the weldooing of the whole Empire, con-

ſiſteth vpon the life of the Emperour, he ought not to fight in perſon. But this is to bee vnderſtood of an Emperour alreadie poſſeſſed and inueſted, for if the election be doubtfull, then to auoyd a publique warre and effuſion of bloud, it ſeemeth verie reaſonable, that two Princes making claime, ought be admitted to triall of Armes, ſo long as no other title or intereſt appeareth.

VVhether a King may challenge an Emperour to Combat.

CAP. 3.

THe auncient Emperours of *Roome* were of ſo great puiſſance, and had vnder them ſo manie Monarchies and Kingdomes, as well neere the chiefeſt part of the world was vnto them ſubiect, and the Princes of thoſe ages were reputed either Subiects, Vaſſals, or Tributaries vnto the Emperours. In which reſpect, it was thought vnfit that the Emperour ſhould vouchſafe to fight with any King or Prince of what ſtate or qualitie ſoeuer. It appeareth alſo, that the honor and reſpect borne towards them was exceſsiue, becauſe the ciuill lawe doth call the Emperour Lord of the world, affirming he hath iuriſdiction ouer Kings and all Princes; yea there wanteth not of thoſe, that haue named him GOD vpon the earth, and conſequently reaſonable that he ſhould refuſe to fight in Combat with any King or other Potentate. On the contrarie ſide may be alleadged, that the dignitie and title of Kings is more auncient, than that of Emperours, and that they haue the like

ſoueraigntie

ſoueraigntie ouer men. For well we knowe that *Æneas*, *Romulus*, & *Numa*, gouerned in *Roome* many and many yeares, before that *Iulius Cæſar* vſurped the title of Emperour. Neuertheles, *Lanciſlao* King of *Hungarie* challenging the Emperour, was repulſed as vnworthie. It happened alſo, that another King contending with the Emperour for the Kingdome of *Polonia*, the ſaid King did challenge the Emperour to Combat, as before that time *Carlo Martello* the ſonne of *Carlo* the ſecond had done for triall of the title of *Hungarie*, which he claimed by diſcent from his mother.

The ſaid King of *Hungarie* (who was then poſſeſſed) being of perſon puiſſant, did condiſcend to fight with *Carlo Martello* a young man of twentie yeares, and vnexpert in Armes, yet indeede rightfull heire. Theſe Princes reſolued to make triall by Armes vpon a day certeine, & appoynted the King of *England* to be their Iudge, and they to performe the fight in a certeine Iland of his, which was done, & *Carlo Martello* became victorious, and tooke from the *Hungarian* King his helmet, which had a cheine hanging at the ſame, which helmet *Carlo Martello* and all his ſucceſſors vſed as a badge. But for reſolution of this matter thus wee conclude, that Princes or Kings hauing dependance of the Empire, may bee repulſed to fight with the Emperour: but a King ſoueraigne, acknowledging no Superiour, and holding his Dominion of GOD and his owne ſword onelie, may challenge and fight with any Emperour.

Of the Equalitie and diſequalitie of great Nobilitie, and of the priuiledges due to all men profeſſing Armes.

Cap. 4.

A King vncrowned may lawfullie challenge a King crowned, vnleſſe the King vncrowned be vnlawfullie aſpired, or a Tyrant. The number of Chriſtian Kings are 14 of whom onelie foure were auncientlie crowned by the Pope, that is, the *French* King, the King of *England*, the King of *Ieruſalem*, and the King of *Siſil*. All the other Kings were crowned by their owne Prelates Thus ſaith *Paris*.

An Earle being a Prince abſolute, and not ſubiect vnto the Empire, or any other Potentate, may refuſe to fight with any perſon being a ſubiect, notwithſtanding hee hath the title of Prince, Duke, or Marquize. Here is to bee noted, that theſe titles of honor were at the firſt giuen in office, as the title of Duke was proper vnto him that was a Generall of the Armie. A Marquize was he vnto whom the confine or Marches of a Countrie or Kingdome was committed. An Earle or Count was a Iudge or Commander in Peace, and of them in the auncient Emperours ſeruice were diuers, as the *Countes Palantine*, were as ſtewards of the Emperours houſe, of his Court, or Stable, & euerie of them might challenge any Prince, Duke, or Marquize being a ſubiect; becauſe they are in reſpect of ſubiection, reputed none other than Barons.

A

A Gentleman well borne and deſcended from Parentage of foure degrees, may fight with any Earle or Baron, in caſe of treaſon to his Prince or Countrie, and alſo murther and infidelitie, becauſe they are (beſides their dignitie) none other than Gentlemen, and Gentilitie or Nobilitie is hereditarie and cannot bee taken away, but Dignitie may. But in other quarrells of leſſe importance, the Earle in reſpect of his dignitie may fight by Champion; but in the caſes aforeſaid he ſhall fight in perſon, vnleſſe he bee aged, lame, or otherwiſe diſabled.

A Capteine Generall of an Armie Emperiall or Royall, may not be challenged by any Gentleman or Lord; neither ought the Gouernour of any Citie, Towne, or Caſtle, becauſe no publique commandement may be abandoned for priuate reſpect. The like is to be vnderſtood of Ambaſſadors, who in regarde of the place they holde, may, during their Commiſſion, repulſe the challenge of any Gentleman or other ſubiect whatſoeuer.

A Soldier baſelie borne, hauing liued in continual exerciſe of Armes by the ſpace of tenne yeares, without committing any diſobedience, or other reproachfull act, ought be admitted to fight with any Gentleman borne.

A Gentleman, who either by his owne fault or his Auncеſtor, hath committed any treaſon againſt his Prince, may bee repulſed to fight with any other Gentleman, vnleſſe the ſaid offender or his Auncеſtor were reſtored in bloud, or is in diſcent three degrees from the Auncеſtor that was attainted.

A Gentleman that is knowne a Spie for the Ene-

mie, or bewraieth the ſecrets of his owne Princes Campe, abandoneth his Enſigne, or committeth any other Militarie offence, may be repulſed to fight with euerie other Gentlemen of good fame & reputation. And by the ancient cuſtome, men blotted with ſuch note, might not liue in any citie or towne where the Emperour or other Prince remained.

A Gentleman that hath made profeſsion of Armes by the ſpace of twentie yeares in the Court or Camp of his Prince, without infamie or reproach, may (notwithſtanding he be diſmiſſed, retired or caſſed) fight with any other Gentleman that liueth in preſent Pay and exerciſe of Armes.

A Gentleman hauing aſpired vnto any title or dignitie, and is either in reſpect of age or infirmitie retired to his owne houſe, ought neuertheleſſe to enioy all his honors, and ſhall be euer (without committing diſhonorable fact) reputed worthie the honor he receiued in Court or Campe, and fight with any other Gentleman whatſoeuer.

An Artificer following the Campe, and exerciſing his Arte or Myſterie (notwithſtanding he bee alſo in Pay) may bee repulſed to fight with any priuare Soldier that maketh particular profeſsion and exerciſe of Armes.

No man vnder the degree of a Gentleman ought be receiued or allowed for a man at Armes on horſebacke: for by the Emperiall lawes the Regiment of Launces, was called *Equeſtris ordo*, and they whom we call Light horſemen, were named *Celeri*.

Certeine Questions, Opinions, and iudgements vpon accidents happening in trialls and exercise of Armes.

Cap. 5.

1 IF two men at Armes doo couenant to fight on horsebacke, and runne tenne courses with sharpe Launces, and that hee who worst performeth those courses should be iudged victored & prisoner to the other: It happeneth that at the second course the one of them falleth from his horse, and sodeinlie recouering to horsback offereth to performe the rest of the courses. The question is, whether it be lawfull for him so to doo, or by the fall be reputed a prisoner?

Whereunto is answered, that in a Challenge for life and death, no man ought bee accompted vanquished vnlesse he bee slaine, or forced with his owne mouth to yeeld or denie those words whereupon the quarrell groweth: yet otherwise it is, when the Challenge or Combat is for Honor onlie, loue of Ladies, or exercise of Armes, because in that case (notwithstanding the Runners bee determined vpon a certeine number of courses) yet if at the first, or after (before those courses bee all performed) any of them doo fall, he that receiueth the fall shall lose the honor, and the other depart with victorie.

2 Two Gentlemen being come into the field to fight for life, the one in fighting happeneth to fall, the other presentlie sitteth vpon him and saith, yeeld thy selfe; he that lieth vnder, saith like words, and there-

with woundeth his enemie lying vpon him, who feeling the griefe mortall, ſtriketh the other in the throate; he that was firſt falne ariſeth and walketh, ſhortlie after they both die; the queſtion is, which of them ought to be iudged victorious?

Albeit no dead man can require iudgement of victorie; yet to the end the honor due vnto the victorious may be in ſigne of his valerous merit beſtowed, and the ſpoyles of the vanquiſhed laid vnder his Enſigne, thus it is ſaid. He who firſt had the bodie of the enemie in his power and vnder, ought be reputed victorious: yet may it be alleadged, that the other who gaue the firſt mortall wound, ought haue the victorie, becauſe the time thereof & not the time of death is to bee conſidered. Others are of opinion, that the longer liuer ought to haue victorie: and ſome affirme, that if the Challenger gaue the firſt wound whereof death enſued, although himſelfe did firſt die: yet had he performed his part and deſerued moſt praiſe. Some alſo doo thinke, there is no iudgement can bee giuen but that the matter ſhould lie dead. Howſoeuer it bee, I leaue the ſame to more learned Doctors and better experienced Knights.

3 Two Gentlemen being on horſebacke, the one challengeth the other, the fight being begun, the Challenger alighteth & killeth his enemie; the Queſtion is, whether he may ſo lawfullie doo?

Thereunto is anſwered. That if the Challenge were for triall of Honor, Triumph, or ſport on horſback, then is no honor due to him that thus killed his enemie, for that neither of the fighters ought to bee on foote: but in a Combat for life it is otherwiſe.

Sith

Sith then it is lawfull aſwell for the one as the other to take and vſe all meanes, aduantages and ſubtilties that can be inuented.

4 Two Gentlemen capitulate to fight on horſe-backe,& that he who firſt falleth ſhall be vanquiſhed. At the firſt encounter they fall both at one inſtant; queſtion is,which of them ought be victorious.

To this caſe may bee anſwered, that forſomuch as the Challenger is not onelie to defend himſelfe, but alſo offend & winne victorie,now falling euen with the Defender, he thereby ought be accompted victored; for in all doubtfull cauſes the Defender is moſt to be fauoured. Others are of minde, that ſeeing the fall of the Challenger might proceede of his owne force,& not the vertue of the enemie, the iudgement ought lie dead. But the true deciſion of this queſtion is thus. If the Combat were for triall of Vertue, Loue,or Prize,then ought the Challenger to loſe the honor; but if the ſame were for life, then ought the fight to be performed in one other day by conſent of both parties; becauſe in Combats of that kinde no victorie is gained vntill one of the fighters bee either ſlaine or yeelded, or hath with his owne mouth denied the words whereupon the Combat was occaſioned.

5 Two Gentlemen determined to fight on horſe-backe for life, the one ouerthroweth the other: being downe, the enemie commeth vpon him: he that is vnder ſaith, I yeeld, and at the ſame inſtant with his dagger ſtriketh and killeth him that is aboue: the queſtion is,which of them ought be pronounced victorious.

Thereunto is ſaid, that forſomuch as the words and deedes of him that liueth, were ſaid and done at one inſtant, being of contrarie effect, the iudgement ought haue relation vnto the deedes: for oft times words are vttered, diuers from the intent of that is done. But if ſo be a man doth ſay, I yeeld, and he vnto whom he yeeldeth doth ſtay to fight & accept thereof, then ſhall the ſayer be reputed vanquiſhed; and afterwards offending him to whom he is yeelded, for ſo dooing, he ought bee diſhonored and condemned as a Traitor.

6 Two Gentlemen being agreed to breake certeine Launces for Prize and Honor, the horſe of the one happeneth to ſtumble vpon a broken Launce & falleth; whether ſhall he in reſpect of that fall be iudged to loſe the honor?

To this queſtion, the anſwere is apparant. For ſeeing that the fall proceeded not from the vertue or force of the aduerſary, but by miſfortune, the Gentleman ſalne ought to be excuſed. Notwithſtanding, if the fight had been for life, the matter ought receiue other iudgement, ſeeing in thoſe kind of Combats it is lawfull to take all oportunities and aduantages.

7 Two Gentlemen determined to fight for life vpon an accuſation of treaſon, whether is it lawfull for the Iudge to depart them, before the Combat be performed & fullie ended? Wherevnto may be anſwered, that forſomuch as the office of a Iudge, is to giue ſentence according to allegations and prooues; it ſeemeth that the Iudge ought in no wiſe to ſtay the fight, but permit the Combat to proceede, till the one or the other of the fighters bee either yeelded or ſlaine,

ſlaine, eſpeciallie in quarrells of ſo heinous weight as is the cauſe of treaſon. For *Frederick* the Emperour, who caſſed and diſanulled all particular Battells and Combats vſed by the *Lombards*, did notwithſtanding allow, that vpon quarrell for treaſon and ſecret murther, the Combat ſhould bee permitted and graunted by all Princes, becauſe the one was offenſiue to God, the other to Prince and Countrie.

8 Two Gentlemen being come to Combat did couenant, that which ſoeuer of them did giue vnto his enemie moſt wounds, ſhould be victorious: the one hath his eye put out with a ſhiuer of a Launce, & the other hath his bodie and armour pearced through: the queſtion is, who ought haue the victorie?

To that doubt we anſwere thus. Albeit the eye is a member of much delicacie, and alſo placed in the head: yet for that the Launce is paſſed through both breaſt and back, it muſt needes bee that he on whom thoſe wounds are, ſhould confeſſe to receiue moſt hurt, and conſequentlie to loſe the honor and victorie.

9 Two Gentlemen being in fight, the one putteth out the eye of his enemie, and he in requitall of that hurt, cutteth off his noſe; the queſtion is, who is by thoſe hurts moſt diſhonored?

It may ſeeme at the firſt ſight, that loſſe of an eye is greateſt, being a member placed aboue, & that without the ſight a man prooueth vnfit for all worldlie actions: yet forſomuch as the want of a noſe is commonlie accompted the greateſt deformitie, and a puniſhment due for infamous offences, it may bee reaſonablie inferred, that the loſſe of that feature ſhould

bring

bring with it moſt diſhonor. Beſides that, ſeeing man is made according to the ſimilitude of God, wee accompt that the face being made more deformed by loſſe of the noſe, than of one eye: therefore the greateſt honor of this Combat is due vnto him who taketh the noſe of the enemie.

10 Two Gentlemen in fighting on horſebacke with Launces, the one hath his hand maimed, the other his knee and whole legge made lame; which of them ought receiue moſt honor?

Hereunto may be ſaid, that the hand being a member moſt neceſſarie for fight, and placed much higher than the legge: therefore the loſſe thereof is of more importance, & conſequētlie diſhonorable. On the other ſide is alleadged, that ſeeing the leg is of as great neceſsitie, ſo as without it he is diſhabled to ſerue either on horſe or foote: therfore he who becommeth hurt and lame in that part, receiueth moſt diſhonor, and the more for that no Arte can ſupplie that want, as in the hand it may. But I referre the true deciding of this doubt vnto the wiſe and learned reader.

11 Two Gentlemen come to fight for life, the Challenger being left handed is maimed on that hād, the other being right handed loſeth it; which of them ought receiue moſt diſhonor?

It ſeemeth that in this caſe the loſſes and harmes are equall; for he who was left handed, being maimed on that ſide, is depriued of that hand which he vſed chieflie, and was no leſſe apt for him, than the right hand is vnto the enemie. And ſith it is the office of the Challenger not onlie to mainteine but alſo offend and prooue, in not doing more to preiudice the Defen-

Defender, than that harme himſelfe receiueth: therefore the Challenger (although hee loſeth but a left hand) is in this caſe moſt diſhonored. Yet becauſe the exerciſe of theſe mens hands were of like neceſsitie, I thinke (vnder correction) the iudgement ought to reſt as indifferent.

12 Two Gentlemen in performing a Combat on foote, are hurt in places equall; the queſtion is, whether of them is victorious?

We haue in the former queſtion ſaid, that where two fighters bee equallie hurt, the Challenger ſhould depart with diſhonor, becauſe he hath not prooued that which he tooke in hand, which is to vanquiſh the Defender. Therefore, the drawing the enemies bloud, and the manner thereof is to bee conſidered. If then the one be hurt on the right arme, and the other on the left, it may ſeeme there is none aduantage: for as the right hand is apt to offend in fight, ſo the left hand is no leſſe fit to defend. Notwithſtanding, for that the vſe of the right hand is both more neceſſarie and ordinarie, he who is hurt thereof, ought to be adiudged vnto moſt diſhonor, chieflie in Combat for life. For in the exerciſe of Armes for honor onlie, the iudgement ought lie dead, or els he ſhall bee thought victorious that moſt manfullie performed his part, or that regardeth leaſt the wound, or that moſt cunninglie doth handle his weapon. The qualitie of the hurts is alſo to bee conſidered, which of them is more or leſſe mortall, likewiſe which member is more or leſſe to be regarded.

13 Foure Gentlemen determined to fight on horſbacke for triall of trueth and life, did enter into the

Liſts: the one partie doo both charge one of the aduerſaries reputed a man of ſmall force, yet valiantlie defending himſelfe, did hurt one of the aſſailers. And his companion ſeeing the matter ſo handled, ſodeinlie diſmounteth, and with his Launce woundeth the other of his enemies in the backe, and forceth the one of them to denie his words: he that denied fleeth out of the Liſtes, perſwading his fellowe being firſt hurt to abide there, ſaying it was more honorable to dye within, than without the Liſtes. He who forced the enemie to flie, purſued him; but not able to take him, a queſtion was mooued which partie ought bee accompted victorious, becauſe on either partie one was hurt, and the other two went out of the Liſtes without licenſe of the Iudge. Whereto may be ſayd.

That he who denied, ought with his companion to loſe the Honor. For albeit one of the enemies did alſo leaue the Liſts, yet his entent therein was to purſue his foe being fled thence: and forſomuch as the Combat was for matter of Treaſon, it ſufficeth not onlie for the victorious to vanquiſh the enemie, but alſo to bring him into the power of the Iudge to bee puniſhed. And it is plaine, that ſeeing of the one partie one was hurt, and the other fled, they ought to be iudged to loſe all honor, and be condemned as guiltie of that wherevpon the quarrell was mooued.

14 Seauen Gentlemen doo compound with ſeauen other, to runne certeine courſes at the Tilt for honor and loue of Ladies; in which match, it happened that fiue of the one partie did commendablie acquite themſelues, but the other two of that ſide were ouerthrowne. On the other ſide, two onelie performed

their

their courſes well, and the reſt of that companie exceeding euill, loſing many Launces, and running very foule: whereof a queſtion grewe, whether vnto fiue well doers and two euill, or vnto two weldoers with fiue euill, the honor ought be allotted?

Albeit in this caſe much may bee ſpoken, yet for that the queſtion is not of any particular mans merit, but which partie in generall performed beſt the enterprize; it may be alleadged, that the partie wherein were moſt weldoers ought to haue the honor, notwithſtanding the fall of two of their companions: yet forſomuch as to fall from horſeback by the enemies force or vertue is moſt reproachfull, it ſeemeth that the miſaduenture of two men onlie, may reaſonablie be the loſſe of honor to all the reſt. And therefore we leaue the iudgement of this doubt vnto wiſe men, better experienced in Armes.

15 Two Gentlemen being in Combat for life, the Challenger taketh the ſword of the Defender from him, notwithſtanding the Defender moſt valiantlie defendeth himſelfe with his arme and hands all the whole day, during which time he could not be forced either to denie, yeeld or bee ſlaine. A queſtion thereupon aroſe, whether of them was victorious?

Forſomuch as this Combat was for life, and that in euerie fight of ſuch nature, no victorie is fullie gained vntill the Defender is ſlaine, or els forced to yeeld or denie; it ſeemeth that he is not to be iudged guiltie, not hauing done any of theſe, although his ſword were loſt, which indeede in all Martiall exerciſes and feates of Armes is a thing much to bee diſcommended. But moſt certeine it is, that in all Com-

bats and actions of Armes, for Honor, Loue, & Praiſe onelie, whoſoeuer loſeth his ſword, muſt preſentlie (alſo) loſe the honor and victorie.

16 Two Gentlemen fighting for life within the Liſtes, the one yeeldeth himſelfe a priſoner. Whether may the Prince of the place (who in Combat is elected a Iudge) ſaue the life of him that is vanquiſhed? Hereunto may be anſwered.

That albeit euerie priſoner apperteineth vnto his taker, yet hath it commonly been vſed, that the victorious haue preſented their priſoners vnto the Prince, to bee diſpoſed at his good pleaſure, who in recompence thereof, doo vſe (according to the magnanimous mindes of ſuch perſons) not onelie to pay the charges of the victorious, but alſo in ſigne of clemencie and mercie ſet the infortunate priſoner freely at libertie. As did the noble King *Edward* the third of *England*, vnto *Iohn Viſconti*, who in his preſence was vanquiſhed by *Thomas de la March* baſe ſonne vnto the *French* King. And *Phillip* Duke of *Milan* did the like vnto another infortunate Gentleman vanquiſhed by a *Neapolitane* Knight.

Of the honor gained or loſt by being diſarmed in ſundrie places, and of ſundrie peeces.

CAP. 6.

A Man that loſeth his Sword in fight, is more reproached than he that loſeth his Shield. For he gaineth the greateſt honor that winneth the chief weapon from the enemie, which is the Sword, ſeeing therewith the Emperour and Kings do create their

their Knights, and the Sword is borne before them in ſigne of authoritie and regall power.

He that loſeth his Headpeece in fight, is more diſhonored, than he that loſeth his Shield, becauſe the Helmet defendeth the moſt principall part of man, but the Shield armeth a lower place.

He that loſeth his Gauntlet in fight, is more to bee blamed, than he who is diſarmed of his Poulderon. For the Gauntlet armeth the hand, without which member no fight can be performed, and therfore that part of Armour is commonlie ſent in ſigne of defiance.

He that is caſt out of the Saddle by violence of his aduerſaries encounter, ſhall bee more reprooued, than he who falleth by the default of his horſe, the breaking of girths, or any ſuch like accident.

Of the honor gained or loſt by the hurts giuen or taken in Combat for life or in Triumph.

Cap. 7.

HE that in fight loſeth his Eye, ſhall thereby receiue more diſhonor, than hee that loſeth his Teeth; becauſe the Eye is a member ſeruing the moſt neceſſarie ſence, but the Teeth are onelie inſtruments of the mouth. He that loſeth his right Eye, is more to bee reproached, than he that loſeth the left Eye; becauſe the right ſide is in better opinion of men. The like is to bee ſaid of the hands, of the armes and legges. If a man hauing but one Eye doo fight with another man that hath two, in loſing that one Eye, he ſhall be more blamed, than he who hath two

Eyes, although hee loſeth one. Hee that loſeth his whole hand, ſhall bee more reproached, than he who loſeth one Eye. And hee that loſeth a foote, is more diſgraced, than he that loſeth one hand.

Of Juſts and Turniaments, and how the accidents in ſuch exerciſes are to be iudged.

CAP. 8.

IT is written, how at a Triumph in the noble Citie of *Naples*, a Gentleman called the *L. Peter Counte* of *Deriſe*, receiued ſo furious an encounter by the Launce of another that ranne againſt him, that therewith he became at one inſtãt diſarmed of his Shield, his Curats & Headpeece, ſo as he being vtterly diſarmed, was left on horsback in his doublet only, without other harme: In requitall whereof, the ſaid *Peter* gaue vnto the other Gentleman ſo violent a blowe, as therewithall the girths of the horſe were broken, and the man caſt headlong on the ground. Thereupon a queſtion was mooued, which of them had merited moſt honor, or rather which of them deſerued leaſt reproach? Whereunto was anſwered abſolutelie, that he who fell fro the horſe, was moſt diſhonored; for (next vnto death) to fall from the horſe is moſt reproachfull.

Yet is it leſſe diſgrace to fall with the horſe, than to fall alone: and therefore, albeit a man doth runne neuer ſo well, if in the end he doth fall frõ the horſe, he can by no meanes receiue honor for that day, but ſhall rather depart with diſgrace.

Who ſo fighting on foote at Barrier, or in any other

ther exerciſe of Armes, is by the force of his aduerſarie conſtrained with his hand to touch the ground, ſhall thereby loſe all commendation.

He that on horſebacke directeth his Launce at the head, is more to bee praiſed, than he that toucheth lower. For the higher the Launce hitteth, the greater is the Runners commendation.

Who ſo runneth lowe, is not onelie vnworthie praiſe, but alſo meriteth reproach. And he who ſo carieth his Launce comelie and firme, is more to bee praiſed, although hee breake not, than hee who miſgouerneth his horſe, or vnskilfullie handleth his Launce, although he doth breake.

He that vſeth to runne high, ſitteth ſteadelie and moueth leaſt in his courſe, accompanying his horſe euenlie and iuſtlie, is in running worthie al commendation.

He that falleth with the encounter of the aduerſarie (although as is before ſaid, the ſame be a great diſgrace) yet is it more excuſeable, than if he remaineth on horſebacke amazed, ſuffering his horſe to wander he wotteth not whether.

He that with his Launce taketh away the Reſt of the aduerſaries Armour, meriteth more honor, than he that taketh away any other ornament.

He that breaketh his Launce on the Pomell or bolſter of his aduerſaries Saddle, deſerueth worſe, than he who beareth his Launce well without breaking.

He that breaketh on the face or other part of the horſe, meriteth worſe, than he that breaketh not at all.

He

He that hurteth an horſe, ſhall not receiue honor, although before he hath runne well: for he that hurteth an horſe is in like predicament with him that falleth, who cannot on that day receiue any honor.

He is worthie ſmall eſtimation, that cannot gouerne his owne horſe, or that ſitteth looſe in his ſaddle: but much is he to bee praiſed that with his force diſordereth his aduerſarie in the ſaddle.

He that letteth his Launce fall, can claime no commendatiō. And leſſe worthie praiſe is he that knoweth not how it ſhould be charged.

He that breaketh the Launce furiouſlie in manie peeces, is more reputed, than he that breaketh it faintlie in one onlie place.

He that conueieth his Launce into the Reſt in due time, is worthie commendation: but he that carieth it ſhaking in his hand or vnſtaiedlie in the Reſt, meriteth blame.

He that dexterouſlie carieth the Launce long on the arme, and skilfully conueith it into the Reſt neere the time of encounter, is more allowed, than he that ſodeinlie and at the firſt ſetting out doth charge it.

To conclude, hee is worthie all commendation, that beareth himſelfe well on horſebacke, that ſitteth comelie, that fitteth his bodie well with Armour, that hath his perſon ſo diſpoſed as if it were without Armour, that can endure to weare it long, and that till the ende of the day diſarmeth not his head.

He that performeth not all his determined courſes, ought not receiue any prize or honor.

Hee that hurteth or toucheth an horſe with his Launce,

Launce, ſhall neither haue prize nor praiſe, for he is in caſe as though he had falne.

He that doth fall, may not runne any more in that day, vnleſſe he falleth on his feete ſtanding right vp, and bee alſo a Challenger: for in that caſe he may returne to horſe and anſwer all commers, becauſe on that day he is ſo bound to doo.

The manner of Combats in England, *as I found them recorded in the French tongue, and written in an auncient booke, ſhewed me by Maſter* Garter *her Maieſties chiefe Herehault.*

FIrſt, the Cartell or bill of Quarrell aſwell of the Challengers behalfe as of the Defenders, was brought into the Court before the *Conestable* and *Marſhall*. And when the truth of the cauſe of quarrell could not be proued by witneſſe, nor otherwiſe, then was it permitted the ſame ſhould receiue triall by force of Armes, the one partie by aſſailing, the other by defending. The *Conestable* as vicar generall vnto the King aſsigned the day of battaile, which was to bee perfourmed within fortie daies next following, whereunto both the Challenger and Defender condiſcended. This being done, the weapons were equallie appoynted to either of them, that is to ſay, a Sword, a Dagger, and one other weapon, which they called a Glaiue. Then were the fighters commanded to bring in ſufficient pledges for ſuretie, that they and euerie of them ſhould appeare & performe the Com-

bat betwixt the Sunne riſing and going downe of the day appoynted for the acquitall of their pledges, and that they nor any of them, ſhould doo or cauſe to bee done any moleſtation, damage, aſſault or ſubtiltie againſt the perſon of his enemie, either by himſelfe, his friends, his followers, or other perſon whatſoeuer.

In what ſort the King commanded the place of Combat to be made.

THe kings pleaſure being ſignified vnto the *Conſtable* and *Marſhall*, they cauſed Liſtes or Raiſes to be made and ſet vp, in length three ſcore paces, and in breadth fortie paces. The place where theſe Liſtes were appoynted, was euer vppon plaine and drie ground, without ridges, hills, or other impediments. At either end of the ſaid Liſts was made a gate or place of entrie, with a ſtrong barre to keepe out the people. For the guarding of either gate one Sargeant was appoynted, and commanded not to ſuffer any man to approach within foure foote. The one gate opened towards the Eaſt, the other towards the Weſt, being ſtrongly barred with a raile of ſeuen foote long, & of ſuch height, as no horſe could paſſe either vnder or ouer the ſame.

In what ſort the King did ſit to behold the Combat.

ON the day of battaile, the King vſed to ſit on a high ſeate or ſcaffold purpoſely made; at the foote whereof, was one other ſeate for the *Coneſtable* and *Marſhall*. Who being come thether, called before them the pledges aſwell of the Defendant as the Challenger, to bee ſhewed and preſented vnto the King, there to remaine within the Liſtes as priſoners, vntill ſuch time as the Challenger and Defender were come, and had performed all their ceremonies.

In what ſort the Challenger vſed to preſent himſelfe to Combat.

THe Challenger did commonlie come vnto the Eaſt gate of the Liſtes, and brought with him ſuch Armour as were appoynted by the Court, and wherewith he determined to fight. Being at the gate, there he ſtaied vntill ſuch time as the *Coneſtable* and *Marſhal* aroſe from their ſeate, and went thether. They being come to the ſaid gate of the Liſtes, and beholding the Challéger there, the *Coneſtable* ſaid. For what cauſe art thou come hether thus armed, and what is thy name? Vnto whom the Challenger anſwered thus. My name is *A. B.* and am hether come armed and mounted, to perfourme my challenge againſt *G. D.* and acquite my pledges. Wherefore I humblie deſire this gate may bee opened, and I ſuffered to performe my intent and purpoſe.

Then the *Coneſtable* did open the viſor of his Headpeece to ſee his face, and thereby to knowe that man to be he who makes the Challenge.

Theſe Ceremonies ended, the *Coneſtable* commanded the gate of the Liſts to be opened, whereat the armed man with his neceſſaries and councell entered. From thence he was brought before the king, where hee remained vntill ſuch time as the Defender was come thether.

In like manner, the Defender being appeared, did make requeſt vnto the *Coneſtable* & *Marſhall*, deſiring they would bee pleaſed to deliuer and diſcharge his pledges. Wherevpon the ſaid *Coneſtable* and *Marſhal* did humblie deſire the King to releaſe them, becauſe the Defender is alreadie come, and preſented before his Maieſtie, there to performe his duetie. But in caſe the Defender did not come at time conuenient in the day appointed, then did the King deliuer his pleaſure vnto the *Coneſtable*, and he report the ſame vnto the *Marſhall*, who forthwith did giue order vnto his *Liutenant*, that the Defender ſhould be preſentlie called to appeare by the *Marſhall* of *Herehaults* in the *South*, called *Clarentieux*: and in caſe the *Marſhall* of *Herehaults* of the King in the *South* were not preſent, then was the proclamation made by ſome other *Herehault* of King *Clarentieux*. But if the Combat were performed in the *North*, on the other ſide of the *Riuer* of *Trent*, in the circuite of the King *Norre*; then was his *Marſhall* to make proclamation. The words of the Proclamation was to this effect. *Oiez. G.D.* Defendant in this Combat, appeare now, for in this day thou haſt taken vppon thee to acquite thy pledges in preſence

preſence of the Lords *Coneſtable* and *Marſhall*, and alſo defend thy perſon againſt *A.G.* who challenged thee to mainteine the cauſe of this Combat.

This Proclamation was made thrice at euerie corner of the Liſts: but if at the ſecond time, the partie appeared not, then the *Herehault* did add theſe words *The day paſſeth, and therefore come without delay.* And if in caſe the ſaid Defendant appeared not before noone, but ſtaied vntill the third houre after, then did the *Herehault* by commandement of the *Coneſtable* and *Marſhall*, in the beginning of the Proclamation ſay, *A.G.* appeare in haſt & ſaue thine honor, for the day is well neere ſpent, wherein thou diddeſt promiſe to performe thine enterprize. It was alſo vſed that the *Coneſtable* his Clarke, ſhould in a booke record the houre of the fighters appearing within the Liſtes, either on foote or on horſebacke, in what ſort they were armed, of what colour the horſes were, & how they were in all poynts furniſhed.

It was alſo auncientlie vſed, that the *Coneſtable* moued the King in fauour of the Fighters, and knowe whether his Maieſtie were pleaſed to appoynt any of his Nobilitie or other ſeruants of reputation, to aſſiſt them in Combat.

The *Coneſtable* and *Marſhall* did ſuruay the Launces and other weapons, wherewith the Combat ſhould bee performed, making them equall and of euen meaſure.

The *Coneſtable* alſo appoynted two Knights or Squires vnto the Challenger, to keepe the place free from impediments; the like was alſo done for the Defender.

The *Conestable* did also mooue the King, to knowe whether his Maiestie in person would take the othes of the Fighters, or giue him and the *Marshall* authoritie to doo it out of his presence.

The *Conestable* also did send the *Marshall* vnto the Challenger and his councell to make readie his oath, declaring that after that ceremonie all protestations should be voyd.

After these preparations, the *Conestable* caused his Clarke to bring foorth the booke, wherevpon the Combatters were solemnelie sworne.

The first Oath.

THe *Conestable* hauing caused his Clarke to reade the Challengers bill, calling him by his name and said. Dooest thou conceiue the effect of this bill? Here is also thine owne Gauntlet of defiance, Thou shalt sweare, by the holie Euangelistes, that all things therein conteined be true, and that thou mainteine it so to be vpon the person of thine aduersarie, as God shall helpe thee and the holie Euangelists.

The oath thus taken, he was led back vnto his former place, and the *Conestable* did cause the *Marshall* to produce the Defender, who tooke the like oath. This oth was euer take the parties kneeling, vnlesse it pleased the *Conestable* and *Marshall* to pardon that duetie.

The second Oath.

THe second Oath was also indifferentlie propounded to either of them, *viz.* That they had not brought

brought into the Liſtes other Armour or weapon than was allowed, neither any engen, inſtrument, herbe, charme, or inchantment, and that neither of them ſhould put affiance or truſt in any thing other than God and their owne valours, as God and the holie Euangeliſtes ſhould helpe them. That done, they were both ſent backe to their places of entrie.

The third Oath was thus.

THe Combatters being againe called, were commanded by the *Coneſtable* to take one the other by the hand, and lay their left hands vpon the booke: which done, the *Coneſtable* ſaid. I charge thee *A.B.* Challenger, vpon thy faith, that thou doo thine vttermoſt endeuour and force to proue thine affirmation, either by death or deniall of thine aduerſarie, before he departeth theſe Liſts, and before the Sunne goeth downe this day, as God and the holie Euangeliſts ſhal helpe thee.

The verie ſame oath in like manner vſed was offered vnto the Defender, and that done, the Fighters returned vnto their places, friends and councellers.

Theſe ceremonies ended, an *Herehault* by commandement of the *Coneſtable* and *Marſhall*, did make proclamation at foure corners of the Liſts thus. *Oiez, Oiez.* We charge and commande in the name of the King, the *Coneſtable* and *Marſhal*, that no man of what ſtate, title, or degree ſoeuer, ſhall approach the Liſtes neerer than foure foote in diſtance, nor ſhall vtter any ſpeach, word, voyce or countenance, whereby either the Challenger or Defender may take aduantage vpon

pon paine of loſſe of life, liuing and goods to be taken at the Kings good pleaſure.

Then the *Coneſtable* and *Marſhall* aſsigned a place cõuenient within the Liſts, where the King of *Herehaults* and their officers ſhould ſtand and bee readie if they were called: for afterwards al things were committed to their charge, aſwell on the behalfe of the Defender as the Challenger, as if any thing were forgotten in their confeſsions, either touching their lands or conſciences: or that any of them deſired to eate or drinke. All thoſe lacks were ſupplied by the *Herehaults* and none other. But here is to bee noted, that no meate or drinke might bee giuen vnto the Challenger, without leaue firſt asked of the aduerſarie, who did not denie the requeſt. And after, the *Herehault* ought goe vnto the *Coneſtable* and *Marſhall* and make them priuie, to deſire their fauour, that the Fighters might eate, drinke, or eaſe their bodies.

After theſe orders taken, the *Coneſtable* and *Marſhall* did auoyd the Liſtes of all ſorts of perſons, ſaue onlie one Knight and two Eſquires armed, to attend on the *Coneſtable*, and the like number to await on the *Marſhall*, either of them hauing in his hand a Launce without head readie to depart the Fighters, if the King did command. Of more auncient time the *Coneſtable* and *Marſhall*, were vſed to haue certeine *Liutenants* and ſeruants within the Liſtes. Alſo the one part to keepe order on one ſide, & the others to looke vnto the other ſide. And if the Queene happened to behold the Combat, then the *Coneſtable* and *Marſhall* awaited on the Kings ſide, and their *Liutenants* attended on the Queene.

Then

Then did the *Coneſtable* alone, ſitting downe before the King, as his Vicar generall, ſend his Liutenant to the Challenger to come vnto him, and the *Marſhall* with his Liutenant did accompanie the Defender.



The *Coneſtable* thus ſet, did pronounce this ſpeach with a loude voyce: *Let them go, let them go, let them go and doo their beſt.* Vpon which words pronounced

in the Kings preſence, the Challenger did march towards the Defender to aſſaile him furiouſlie, and the other prepared himſelfe for defence ſoberlie. In the meane time, the *Coneſtable* and *Marſhall* with their Liutenants ſtood attentiue to heare and ſee if any words, ſigne, or voyce of yeelding were vttered by anie of the Fighters, and alſo to bee readie if the King ſhould command the Launces to bee let fall to depart the fight.

The *Coneſtable* and *Marſhall* did alſo take regard, that the Challenger and Defender ſhould appeare at the day and houre appoynted, whether the quarrell were for treaſon or otherwiſe.

The *Coneſtable* did likewiſe meaſure the weapons of the Combattors, and alſo ſearch whether they had about them any engin, or other vnlawfull things, as Charmes or Inchauntment: yet was it lawfull both for the Challenger and Defender, to bee aſwell and ſurelie armed as they could. And if any of them would haue his Sword ſhorter than the Standerd, yet was not the other bound to haue his cut to that meaſure, if he required that fauour of the Court. But if either the one or the others Sword paſſed the Standerd, then was that inequalitie to be reformed: or if they were both ouerlong, both ought be reformed.

It had been alſo in more ancient time vſed, that the *Coneſtable* and *Marſhall*, ſhould foreſee, that if the Kings pleaſure was to depart the fight, and ſuffer the Fighters to reſt, before the Combat ended, that they ſhould bee parted in due time, when no aduauntage were. Likewiſe, that they ſhould take heed that none of them ſhould priuatlie ſpeake vnto the other of yeelding

yeelding, or otherwiſe. For vnto the *Coneſtable* and *Marſhall* apperteined the witneſsing and record of all things.

And in caſe the Combat were for queſtion of treaſon, he that was vanquiſhed ſhould bee foorthwith diſarmed within the Liſts, by commandement of the *Coneſtable* and the *Marſhall*. The ſaid Armour and weapons of the vanquiſhed, in one end of the Liſts was defaced in his diſgrace, and after, the ſame was drawne out together with his horſe. From thence alſo the man vanquiſhed was drawne vnto the place of execution to bee there headed or hanged, according to the cuſtome of the Countrie. The performance of all which puniſhment, apperteined onlie to the *Marſhall*, who ought ſee all things done in his owne preſence. And in caſe the Challenger did not vanquiſh his enemie, then ought he ſuffer the ſame paines that are due vnto the Defender, if he were vanquiſhed. But if the quarrell were vpon a crime of leſſe importance, the partie vanquiſhed, ſhould not bee drawne vnto the place of execution, but onelie led thether to receiue death or other puniſhment, according to the cuſtome and qualitie of the matter.

If the Combat were onelie for triall of vertue, or honor, he that was vanquiſhed therein, ſhould be diſarmed and put out of the Liſts without further puniſhment.

If it happened that the King would take the quarrell into his hand, and make peace betweene the parties without longer fight. Then did the *Coneſtable* leade the one, and the *Marſhall* the other of the fighters out of the Liſts, at diuers gates, armed and mounted

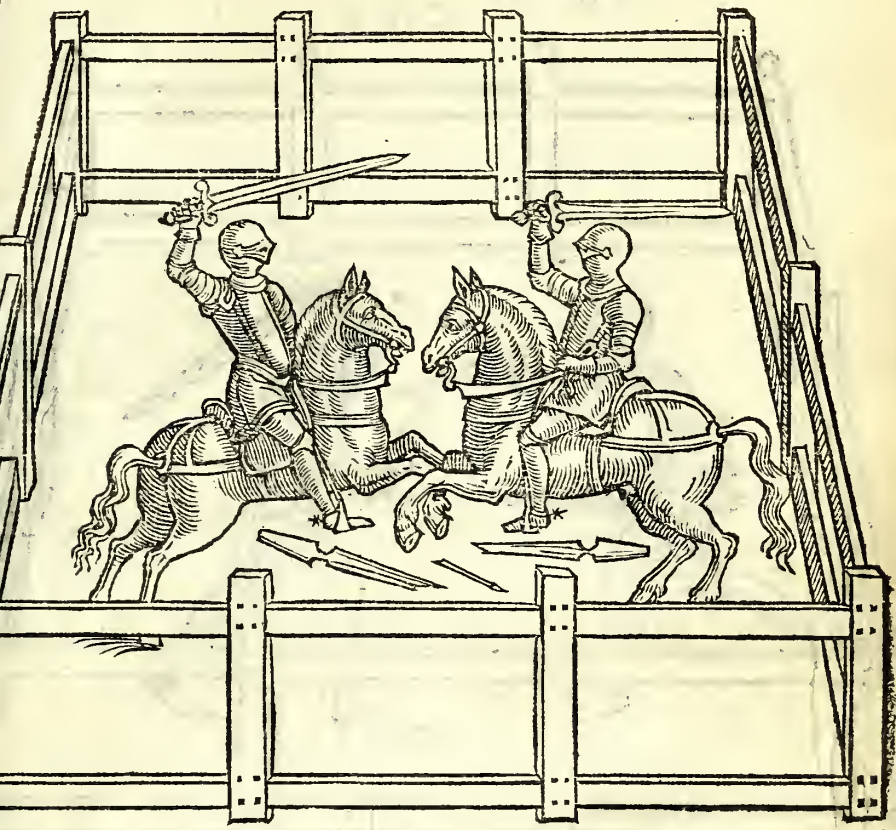
ted as they were, hauing ſpeciall regard that neither of them ſhould go the one before the other. For the quarrell reſting in the Kings hand, might not bee renued, or any violence offered without preiudice vnto the Kings honor. And becauſe it is a poynt verie ſpeciall in matters of Armes, that he who leaueth the Liſts firſt, incurreth a note of diſhonor: therefore to depart the Liſts in due time was euer preciſelie obſerued, were the Combat for treaſon or other cauſe whatſoeuer.

It is alſo to bee remembered, that without the principall Liſts, were euer certeine Counterliſts, betwixt which two, the ſeruants of the *Conestable* and *Marſhall* did ſtand. There ſtood alſo the Kings Seriants at Armes, to ſee and conſider if any default, or offence were committed contrarie to the Proclamation of the Court, againſt the Kings royall Maieſtie, or the lawe of Armes. Thoſe men were euer armed at all peeces.

The ſeruants of the *Conestable* and *Marſhall* had charge of the place, and good order thereof. The Kings Seriants tooke care to keepe the gates of the Liſts, and be there readie to make areſt of any perſon, when they ſhould bee commanded by the *Coneſtable* or *Marſhall*. The fees of the *Marſhall* were all Horſes, peeces of Armour, or other furniture that fell to the ground after the Combattors did enter into the Liſts, aſwell from the Challenger as the Defender. But all the reſt apperteined to the partie victorious, whether he were Challenger or Defender.

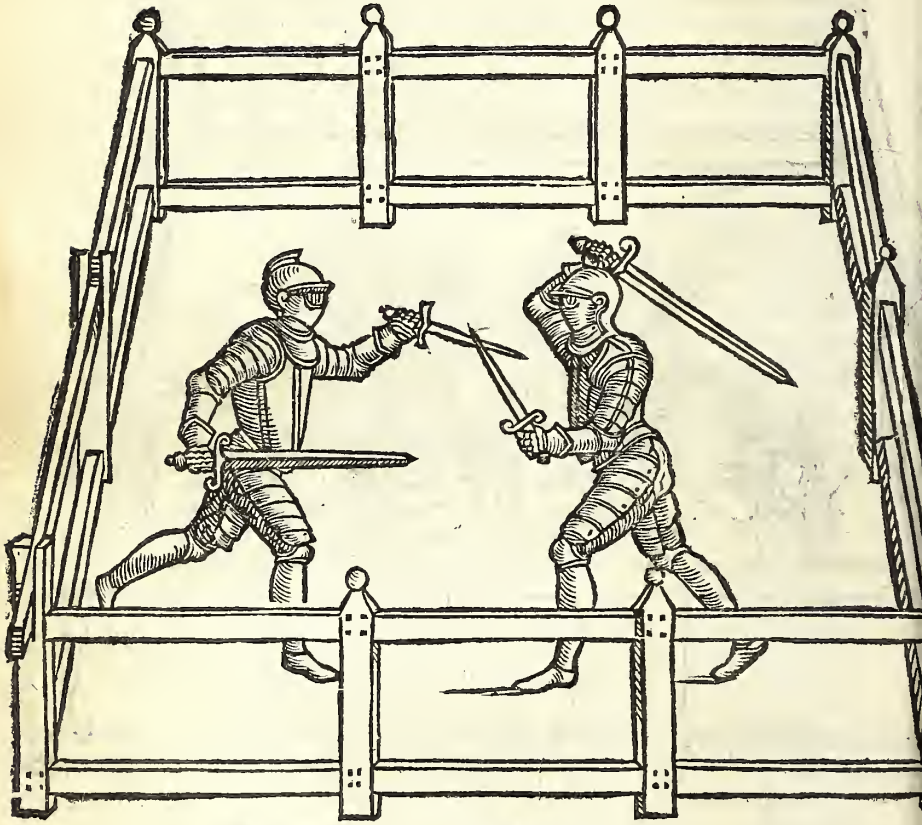
The

The Barres, Posts, Railes, and euerie other part of the Lists were also the fees of the *Marshall*.



Certeine Combats graunted by the Kings of England.

CAP. 9.



EDmond, of the raſe of *Weſt Saxons*, fought in combat with *Canutus* King of *Denmarke*, for the poſſeſsion of the Crowne of *England*. In which fight, both the Princes being wearie, by conſent departed the land betwixt them. *Anno.* 1016.

Robert

ROBERT *Mountfort* accuſed *Henrie* of *Eſſex* of treaſon, affirming that he in a iorney towards *Wales* neere vnto *Colſhil*, threwe away the Kings Standerd, ſaying the King was dead, and turned backe thoſe that went to the Kings ſuccour. *Henrie* denied the accuſation, ſo as the matter came to be tried by Combat. The place appoynted for fight, was a little Ile neere vnto *Reading*. In this Combat *Henrie* was vanquiſhed and fell downe as dead, and at the ſuite of friends, licence was obteined that his bodie might be buried by the Monkes of *Reading*. But it happened that the bodie of *Henrie* recouered, and became a Monke in that Abey. *Anno* 1163. In the raigne of King *Henrie* the ſecond.

HENRY Duke of *Hereford* accuſed *Thomas Mowbray* Duke of *Norffolke* of certeine words by him ſpoken, as they rode betweene *London* and *Brainford*, tending vnto the Kings diſhonor. *Thomas* Duke of *Norf.* denied to haue ſpoken any ſuch word, but *Henrie* affirming his accuſation, the King graunted the Combat to bee performed at *Couentrie* the 7. of September 1398. *Anno Rich.* 2.

A Combat was fought at *Weſtminſter* in the Kings preſence, betweene *Iohn Anſley* Knight, and *Thomas Catrington* Eſquire, whō the ſaid Knight had accuſed of treaſon, for ſelling the Caſtle of *S. Sauiours*, which the Lord *Chandos* had builded in the Ile of *Conſtantine* in *France*. In which Combat the Knight was victorious. *Anno* 1379. *regni Rich.* 2.

A Com-

A Combat was graunted vnto an Eſquire borne in *Nauarra*, to fight with an *Engliſh* Eſquire called *Iohn Welſh*, whom the *Nauarrois* accuſed of treaſon. But the true cauſe of the *Nauarrois* his malice was, for that the ſaid *Welſh* had forced his wife, as (being vanquiſhed) he confeſſed. The King gaue ſentence he ſhould bee drawne and hanged. *Anno.* 1384. *Regni Rich.* 2.

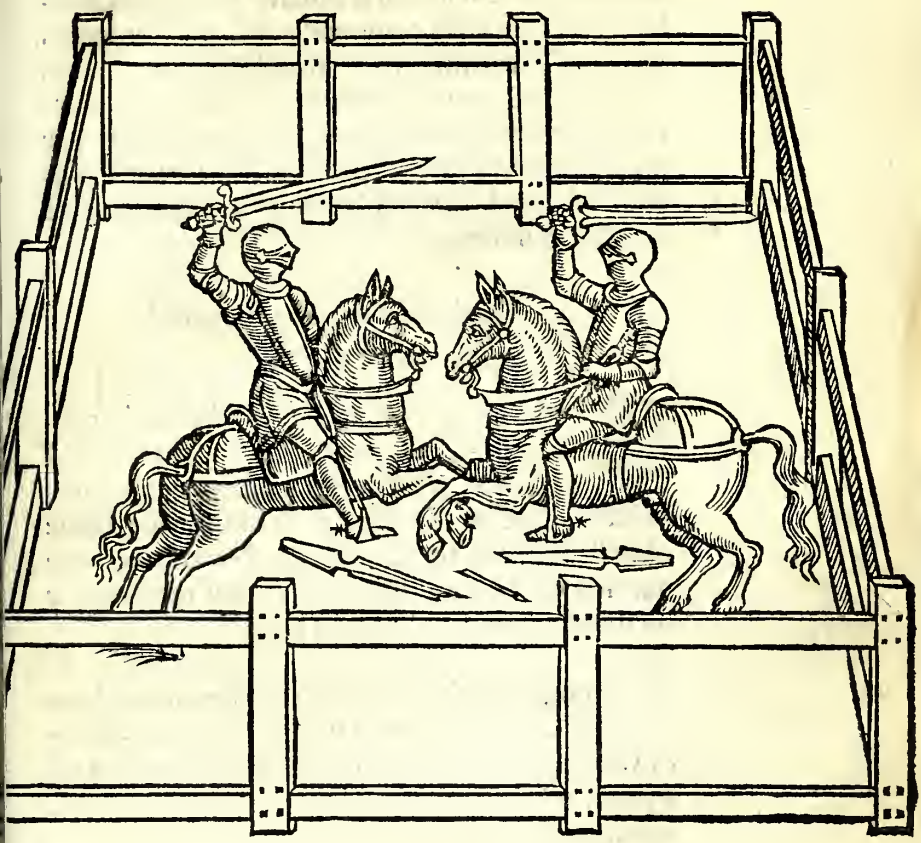
A Combat was fought betweene Sir *Richard Woodvile* and one other Knight borne in *Spaine*. After the third blowe giuen, the King ſtaied the fight. *Anno* 1441. *Regni Henr.* 6.

A Combat was graunted vnto *Iohn Viſcount* borne in *Cipres*, and *Thomas de la Marſhe* baſtard ſonne vnto *Philip* King of *France*, in the raigne of King *Edward* the 3. at *Weſtminſter*.

Certeine

Honor, and Loue of Ladies, brought before the Kings of England.

CAP. II.



IN the former Chapter wee made mention of the Ceremonies appertaining to Combats for life, as they were ancientlie vſed. Nowe I thinke fit for

the furniture of this worke, briefliе to remember ſome ſpeciall exerciſes of Armes brought before the Princes of this realme for Honor, and loue of Ladies onlie: and among the reſt (as actions moſt worthie memorie) wee will touch certeine particular Combats (or as they are commonlie called) Triumphs, Iuſts and Turniaments performed before our preſent Soueraigne Queene *Elizabeth*, a Prince of ſo great magnanimitie and wiſedome, as by imitation of her moſt noble and princelie vertues, the Court of *England* both for Armes and learning hath in her raigne excelled all others.

Triumphs before King Edward *the third.*

IN the raigne of King *Edward* the third, a royall Iuſt was holden at *Lincoln* by the Duke of *Lancaſter*, where were preſent certeine Ambaſſadors ſent by the King of *Spaine* for the Ladie *Ioane* daughter to the King, who ſhould haue been married vnto that King of *Spaine*: but meeting her on the way, ſhe died. *Anno.* 1348.

A Triumph was holden at *Windſor* before the ſame King *Edward*: whereat was preſent, *Dauid* King of *Scots*, the Lord of *Tankeruile*, and the Lord *Charles Valloys*, who by the Kings licenſe was permitted to runne, and had the prize. *Anno.* 1349.

IN *Smithfield* were ſolemne Iuſts in the ſame Kings raigne, where was preſent a great part of the moſt valiant

valiant Knights of *England* and *France*. Thether came alſo noble perſons of other Nations, as *Spaniards*, *Cipriots*, and *Armenians*, humblie deſiring aide againſt the *Pagans*. *Anno* 1361.

A Triumph before King Edward *the fourth.*

IVſts were againe holden in *Smithfield*, where *Anthonie Wooduile* Lord *Scales* did runne againſt the *Baſtard* of *Burgondie*. *Anno*. 1444.

A Triumph before King Henrie *the ſixt.*

ONe other notable action of Armes was perſonallie performed in *Smithfield*, betweene a Knight of *Spaine* called Sir *Francis le Aragonoys*, and Sir *Iohn Aſtley* Knight of the *Garter*. For after the ſaid Sir *Francis* had wonne the honor from all the men at Armes in *France*, he came into *England*, and made a generall Challenge, but by the great valour of Sir *Iohn Aſtley* loſt the ſame vnto him. The memorie of which action remaineth with Maſter *Garter* principall King of Armes.

Triumphs before King Henrie *the ſeuenth.*

AT *Richmont* was holden a ſolemne Triumph, which continued a whole moneth, where Sir *Iames Parker* running againſt *Hugh Vaughan* was hurt and died. 1494.

ONe other Triumph was in the ſame Kings dayes performed in the Tower of *London*. Anno. 1502.

Triumphes before King Henrie *the eight.*

BVt farre exceeding al theſe was that magnificent Iuſts & Turniments, at the meeting of the two excellent Princes, King *Henrie* the eight of *England*, & K. *Frances* the *French* King: who chooſing vnto them xiiij. others, did challenge to runne at the Tylt, and fight at the Turney and Barrier with all commers. The Chalengers were; The King of *England*, the King of *France*, the Duke of *Suffolke*, the Marquis *Dorcet*, Sir *William Kingſton*, Sir *Richard Iernegan*, Maſter *Nicholas Carew*, and Maſter *Anthonie Kneuet*, with their Aſsiſtants, Sir *Rowland* & Sir *Giles Capell*: with theſe were ſo manie other *French* Gẽtlemen, as made vp the number aforeſaid.

For Defenders, thether came *Monſieur de Vandoſme*, the Earle of *Deuonſhire*, and the Lord *Edmond Howard*; euerie of thẽ bringing in a faire Band of Knights well armed.

The

This moſt noble Challenge of theſe two mightie Kings, accompanied with xiiij. other Knights, of either Nation ſeuen they cauſed to bee proclaimed by *Norrey* King of Armes, in *England*, & *France*, *Germanie*, *Anno* 12, *Hen.* 8.

ONe other moſt memorable Challenge was made by the ſame King; who in his owne royall perſon, with *William* Earle of *Deuonſhire*, Sir *Thomas Kneuet*, & *Edward Neuell* Eſquire, anſwered all commers, at *Weſtminſter*. The King called himſelfe *Cuer loyal*; the Lord *William*, *Bon voloir*; Sir *Thomas Kneuet*, *Vailliant deſir*; and *Edward Neuill*, *Ioyous penſer*.

Defenders were;

The Lord *Grey*, Sir *William a Parr*, *Robert Morton*, *Richard Blont*, *Thomas Cheyney*, *Thomas Tyrrell*, Sir *Rowland Chriſtopher Willoughby*, the L. *Howard*, *Charles Brandon*, the Lord Marquis, *Henrie Guilford*, the Earle of *Wiltſhire*, Sir *Thomas Bullin*, *Thomas Lucie*, the Lord *Leonard*, the Lord *Iohn*, *Iohn Melton*, *Griffith Doon*, *Edmond Howard*, *Richard Tempeſt*.

After this Challenge was ended, the prize appointed for the Challengers partie, was giuen vnto *Cuer Loyall*: & among the Defenders to *Edmond Howard*.

ANother ſolempne Challenge was proclaimed and performed by certaine Engliſh Knights: *vz.* Sir *Iohn Dudley*, Sir *Thomas Seymour*, Sir *Francis Poinings*, Sir *George Carew*, *Anthonie Kingſton*, and *Richard Cromwell*: *Anno.* 1540.

Of like Actions in Armes sith her Maiesties Raigne, these doo seeme most notable, as appeareth by the memorialls of M. Clarentieux, a Gentleman verie diligent in her Maiesties seruice, and carefull to obserue things to the Honor of her Maiesties Court.

ONE solempne Iust, Turniment, and fight at the Barrier was holden at *Westminster*, wherein the Duke of *Norfolke*, the Earle of *Sussex*, the Earle of *Warwicke*, the Earle of *Leicester*, the Lord *Scrope*, the Lord *Darcie*, and the Lord *Hunsdon* were Challengers, and with great honour answered all Commers.

The Defenders names are not extant.

A Royall Challenge was also there proclaimed before her Maiestie, wherein were Challengers, the Earle of *Oxenford*, *Charles Howard*, Sir *Henrie Lee*, and *Christopher Hatton*.

The Defenders were;

The Lord *Stafford*, the Lord *Henrie Seymour*, *Edward Harbart*, Sir *George Carie*, *Thomas Cicill*, *Henrie Gray*, *William Howard*, Sir *Ierome Bowes*, *Henrie Knowles*,

Knowles, Henrie Kneuet, William Norris, Richard Bulkeley, Thomas Kneuet, William Knowles, Rafe Lane, George Delues, Robert Celsel, Lancelot Bostocke, Brian Ansley, Henrie Mackwilliams, Thomas Bedingfield, Thomas Moore, William Worthington, Richard Blunt, Thomas Conyngesby, Robert Alexander, Roger Clopton.

This Triumph continned three daies. The first at Tilt; the second at Turney; and the third at the Barriers.

On euerie of the Challengers her Maiestie bestowed a Prize: for the receiuing whereof, they were particularlie led armed by two Ladies vnto her presence Chamber.

The Prize at the Tilt on the Defenders partie was giuen vnto *Henrie Grey*; At the Turney vnto the L. *Henrie Seymor*; at the Barriers vnto *Thomas Cicill*. Before them went *Clarentieux* king of armes in his rich coate of Armes.

This magnificent Combat was performed *Anno* 1571.

AN honourable Challenge was likewise brought before her Maiestie by the Earle of *Arundell*, calling himselfe *Callophisus*, who with his Assistant Sir *William Drewrie* challenged all commers. *Anno* 1580,

The Defenders were;

The Earle of *Oxford*, the Lord *Windsor*, *Philip Sidney*, *Edward Norris*, *Henrie Knowles*, *Robert Knowles*, *Fulke Grenill*, *Thomas Kneuet*, *Thomas Kellaway*, *Rafe Bowes*, *George Goring*, *George Gifford*, *Anthonie Cooke*, *Henrie*

Henrie Bronkerd, Edward Denie, Richard Ward, Sir *Thomas Parrot.*

The Prize was giuen to the Earle of *Oxford.*

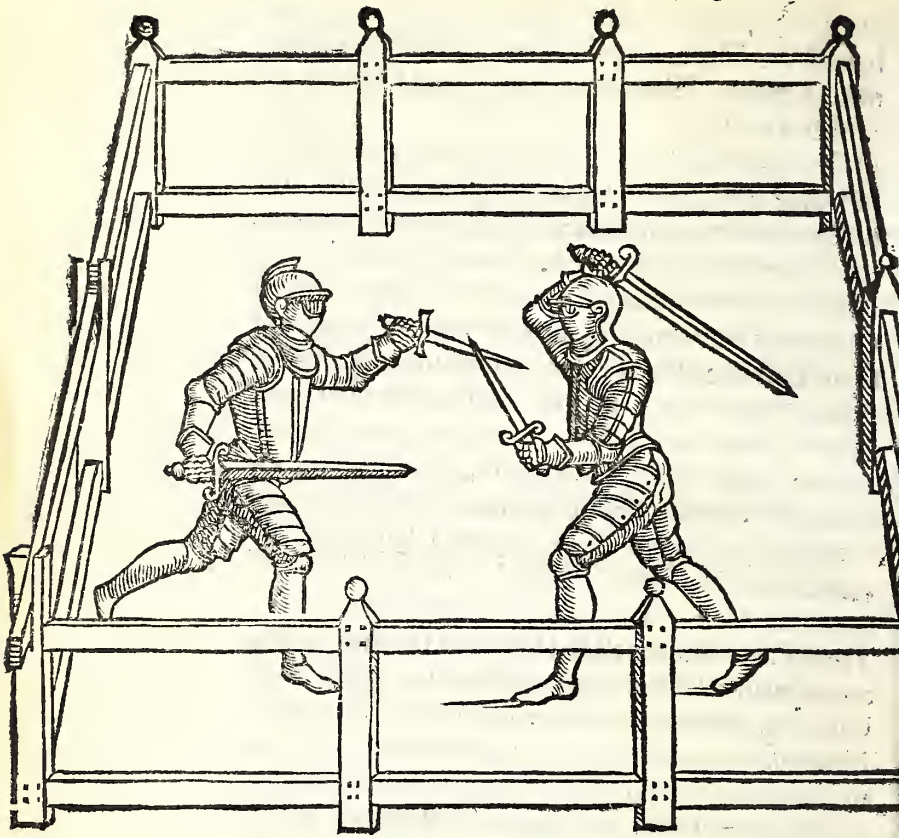
TO theſe actions of Armes may be added the notable Turniament on horſebacke within her Maieſties Pallace at *Weſtminſter*, which became the more rare and memorable, for that it was performed in the night. The manner whereof in briefe, was thus.

It pleaſed her Maieſtie (according to her Princelie cuſtome in receiuing of noble ſtrangers) to conuite vnto ſupper the Duke *Momorancie* chiefe Marſhall of *France*, at that time come hether to take the honourable Order of the *Garter*. This magnificent ſupper ended, it pleaſed her Highneſſe (the weather being warme) to walke out of her Chamber into the open Tarrace, whether alſo (awaiting on her) went the ſaid Duke, and all others of the *French* Nobilitie, with the Ambaſſadours, Lords and Ladies of this Court. At her Maieſties comming to the North ſide of the Tarrace, there were prepared and ſet rich Chaires, Cuſhions and Carpets. In which place it pleaſed her to ſtay, intertaining moſt gratiouſlie the ſaid Duke & other noble ſtrangers. Next vnto them were placed the Ladies, Lords Counſellors and other perſons of reputation, according to their degrees and conueniencie of the roume. So as the ſaid Tarrace was on all ſides beſet with Lords, Ladies, and perſons of qualitie ſumptuouſlie apparelled and richlie furniſhed, and among them (both aboue and vnder) ſtood manie of the Guard in their rich coates, holding an infinite number of Torches: and ſo in the

the preaching place: by which meane, to those that beheld the Tarrace in this sort furnished, they deemed it rather a Theater celestiall, than a Pallace of earthlie building.

The place with this royall presence replenished, sodeinlie entered the Earle of *Essex*, and with him twelue Gentlemen armed at al peeces and wel mounted. The Earle and his horse was furnished with white cloath of siluer, and the rest in white sattin, who (after reuerence done to her Maiestie) marched to the East side of the Court, & there in troope stood firme. Forthwith entred the Earle of *Rutland* with a like number in like sort armed and apparelled all in blewe, and hauing presented his reuerence staied on the West end. Before either of these Bands one Chariot was drawne, and therein a faire Damsell conducted by an armed Knight; who presented certeine speeches in the French tung vnto her Maiestie. These Ceremonies past, the Queene commanded the armed men to fall vnto fight, which was performed with great courage & commendation, chiefly in the Earle of *Essex*, a noble personage, valerous in Armes, and all other waies of great vertue. Trulie, this action was meruailouslie magnificēt, & appeared a sight exceeding glorious to those that wer below looking vpward to the Tarrace, wher her Maiestie, the Lords and Ladies stood, so pompously apparailed, Iewelled and furnished as hardly can bee seen the like in anie Christian Court; as my selfe and other the Actors (at occasions staying from fight) with great admiration did behold and thinke.

Of the Actors names in this Combat, it seemeth no note is kept: yet are manie of them liuing.



NOt inferiour, but farre exceeding in princelie pompe and qualitie of Actors was that royall Combat and fight on foote before her Maiestie, the 1. of Ianuarie *Anno* 1581. where *Monsieur* of *France*, the Prince *d' Aufine*, the Earle of *Sussex*, the Earle of *Leicester*, the Count *S. Aignon*, *Monsieur Chanuallon*, and *Monsieur Barqueuille* were Challengers.

The

The Defenders were;

The L. *Thomas Howard*, Sir *William Russell*, *Monsieur Brunys*, *Monsieur S. Vincent*, Sir *Thomas Cicill*, *Henry Grey*, *Iohn Borough*, Lord *Windsor*, *Walter Windsor*, *Le Boylere*, *Le Cheualier*, *Ambrose Willoughbie*, Sir *William Drurie*, *Thomas Radcliffe*, Lord *Sheffeld*, *Robert Cary*, *George Carew*, *Fulk Greuill*, *William Knowles*, *Francis Knowles*, *Thomas Kneuet*, Lord *Darcie*, *Anthony Mildmay*, *Rafe Stauerton*, *Lancelot Bostock*, *George Beeston*, *William Worthington*, *Thomas Kellaway*, Sir *George Carey*, *Rafe Bowes*, *Henrie Windsor*, *Iohn Wotton*, *George Goring*, *Edward Moore*, *George Giffard*, *Thomas Borough*, *Anthonie Cooke*, *Hercules Newtas*, *Richard Skipwith*, *Henrie Bronkard*, *Iohn Parker*, *Francis Darcie*, *Iohn Tyrrell.*

They are not here placed according to their degrees, but as they were called to fight.

AFter so manie royall and statelie Triumphs, it may be thought superfluous to insert the ordinarie exercises in Armes, almost yearely vsed on the 17. of Nouember, in memorie of the applause of all subiects at her Maiesties comming to the Crowne of *England*, as euen this last yeare was vsed by the right noble and valerous Earle of *Essex*: a Gentleman of great hope, or rather vertuous proofe and singular perfection. In liew whereof (or rather to auoide iteration of names) we haue here set down those Lords and Gentlemen that haue been Actors in publique exercises of Armes on horseback, sith her Maiesties raigne: as chieflie by Master *Clarentieux* notes doth

appeare. By consideration of which persons, as well in qualitie as number, it may easilie bee conceiued, that the magnificence of her Maiesties Court is equall or exceeding the Courts of other Kings her noble predecessors.

They are not here placed in order of their degrees, but according to the time of the Actions wherein it pleased them to be: and with such titles as they since had, or now haue.

	Knights and Gentlemen.
The Duke of *Norffolke.*	Sir *Christopher Hatton,* Knight of the Order.
The Earle of *Sussex.*	Sir *George Howard.*
The Earle of *Warwick.*	*Edward Fitzgarret.*
The Earle of *Leicester.*	Sir *Robert Constable.*
The Earle of *Ormond.*	Sir *Henrie Lee.*
The L. *Honsdon.*	*Anthonie Digbie.*
The L. *Scroope.*	*Thomas Warcop.*
The L. *Darcie.*	*Thomas Markham.*
The L. *North.*	Sir *George Beeston.*
The L. *Norris.*	Sir *William Gorge.*
The L. *Charles Howard.*	*Henrie Haruie.*
The L. *Grey.*	*Edward Hongarford.*
The L. *Stafford.*	*Thomas Cornwallis.*
The L. *Henrie Seymor.*	*Iohn Fernegan.*
The Earle of *Oxenford.*	*Robert Colsel.*
The Earle of *Essex.*	*Robert Wiseman.*
The Earle of *Rutland.*	*Francis Haruie.*
The Earle of *Arundel.*	Sir *Thomas Layton.*
The L. *Windsor.*	*William Howard.*
The L. *Thomas Howard.*	Sir *Edward Harbert.*
The L. *Sheffeld.*	Sir *Henrie Cobham.*
The L. *Borough.*	*Walter Windsor.*
The Earle of *Essex.*	Sir *Henrie Kneuet.*
The L. *Willoughbie.*	Sir *George Carey.*
The L. *Strange.*	*Henrie Knowles.*
The Earle of *Comberland.*	
The L. *Brough* of *Ireland.*	

William

William Norris.
Rafe Lane.
Sir Iohn Dauers.
George Delues.
Sir Henrie Grey.
Lancelot Boſtock.
Brian Anſley.
Sir Ierome Bowes.
Sir Thomas Cicill.
Henrie Mackwilliam.
Thomas Bedingfield.
Sir Richard Bulkeley.
Thomas Kneuet.
Sir William Knowles.
William Worthington.
Edward Cary.
Sir Thomas Gorge.
Richard Blunt.
Thomas Moore.
Thomas Coningesbie.
Robert Alexander.
Roger Clopton.
William Hyfeld.
Thomas Cotton.
Sir Walter Rawleigh.
Sir Philip Sidney.
Sir William Ruſſell.
Sir Thomas Weſt.
Robert Knowles.
Iohn Carey.
Fulke Greuill.
Rafe Bowes.
Iohn Zouch.
Sir William Drurie.
Thomas Kellaway.
George Goring.
Iohn Ludcot.

Edward Greuill.
William Treſſam.
Edward Moore.
Iohn Tyrrell.
Henrie Bronkard.
Sir Thomas Parrot.
Thomas Radcliffe.
Sir Edward Norris.
Anthonie Cooke.
Sir Iohn Packington.
George Giffard.
Richard Ward.
Euerard Digbie.
Sir Edward Denie.
Sir William Hatton.
Thomas Vauiſor.
Henrie Nowell.
Sir Iohn Borrowe.
Sir George Carew.
Anthonie Mildmay.
Thomas Gerrard.
Edward Winter.
Sir Charles Blont.
William Greſſam.
Iohn Wotton.
Iohn Parker.
Francis Darcie.
Robert Carie.
Sir Edward Wingfield.
Iohn Chidley.
Sir Philip Butler.
Richard Skipwith.
Pecksall Brocas.
William Harule.
Thomas Sidney.
Iames Clifton.
Richard Acton.

MY meaning was here to haue inſerted all the Speaches, Emblemes, Deuiſes, Poſies, and other Complements, vſed in all Challenges & other publique exerciſes of Armes ſince her Maieſties Raigne: but for want of obſeruation, or rather lacke of ſome ſufficient man to haue ſet them preſently downe, thoſe things cannot be recouered. Henceforth that defect is like to bee ſupplied by the dextrous hand of Maſter *W. Seagar*, (now called *Somerſet*) one of her Maieſties Herehaults, a Gentleman both learned and languaged, and therewith alſo by his own hand able to expreſſe in demonſtration, with great art and excellencie. Whoſe minde is whollie bent to her Maieſties ſeruice, and the honour of her Court.

The Ceremonies apperteining to the deliuerie of Prizes at Iuſts and Turniments.

Cap. 12.

ATanie publique Triumph before the King, it ſeemeth the vſe hath heretofore been, that the Prizes of beſt deſert ſhould bee giuen by the hand of the Queene, notwithſtanding it were in the Kings preſence: but firſt a ſolempne proclamation to be made by the Herehaults: to this effect;

OYes, O yes, O yes. Be it knowen to all men by theſe preſents, that by the authoritie of the moſt high, moſt excellent, and moſt puiſſant Prince H. *by the grace of God King of* England, France, *and* Ireland, &c. *That of thoſe which haue Iuſted on the Challengers ſide* A.B. *hath deſerued the Prize, and to him let the ſame be giuen as due, by the cenſure of the Queene, with the aſſent of her Ladies, Gentlewomen, and all others of her Highnes Court heere preſent.*

Likewiſe on the partie of Defenders C.D. *hath Iuſted well,* E.F. *better, but* G.H. *beſt of all: vnto whome the Prize is iudged, by the moſt mightie, moſt excellent, and vertuous Princeſſe, with conſent aforeſaid.*

This

This was the forme of deliuering the Prizes, at the moſt noble and triumphant Iuſts performed by King *Henrie* the eight and *Francis* the *French* King, with their Nobilitie and Gentlemen of Armes, at their interviewe in *Picardie*: where the Proclamation in forme aforeſaid was pronounced in *Engliſh* and *French*, which by fauour of Maſter *Garter* I haue ſeene recorded.

IT ſeemeth in elder times, the vſe was that the Prince did giue a letter of atteſtation to ſuch perſons as wan anie Prize, either in Combat for life or Honor: for my ſelfe haue read ſuch a one granted by a King of *France* vnto an *Italian* Gentl. in theſe words following: wherevnto (as it ſeemeth) was added a great and honorable Ceremonie.

NOI Filippo, *per gratia di dio Re di* Franza, &c. *notifichiammo a tutti coloro, a quali peruerranno queſte noſtre littere, et che lo haranno a grado et in piacere, e generalmente a Imperadori, Re, Duchi, Marcheſi, Conti, Principi, Nobili, Caualieri e Gentilhuomini, come hauendo noi celebrato le noſtre feſte a honore, a laude, & a gloria di noſtro Signor dio, & ad honore di tutti i Caualieri che ſono venuti a combattere a tutto tranſito in queſto honorato paſſo di armi: vogliamo che ſiano riconoſciuti coloro che ſi ſaranno valoroſamente portati, ſenza eſſer mai vinti pure vna volta, poi che ſi debbe dar l'honore a chi merita, & ch'e ſenza menda. Pero per queſte ordoniammo, commandiammo, e ſententiammo, che a gloria, a honore, a laude, & a fama, del egregio, e virtuoſo Caualiere* N. *eſſo ſia publicato in tutti quatro i cantoni delle lizze & sbarre, da i Re d'armi, Araldi, & Paſſauanti, con trombette, e ſenatori, con conſtimento noſtro, & delli giudici del campo, rappreſentanti la perſona noſtra, per lo migliore di tutti i Caualieri de noſtro regno. Et commandiammo che ſia poſto ſopra vn cauallo tutto bianco, e che tutti coloro che vi ſi truoueranno, coſi donne, come huomini, vengono con eſſo noi tutti a piedi, e ſia fatta proceſſione generale: e* N. *vada ſotto il baldacchino fino alla chieſa. Appreſſo commandiammo & ordoniammo, che vſcendo della chieſa, ſi vada per tutte le lizze & sbarre, e* N. *ne prenda la poſſeſſione, e per i Re d'Armi gli ſiano date tutte le chiaui delle detto lizze in ſegno di Vittoria. Et ancora commandiammo, che ſiano celebrate feſte che durino quindeci giorni, a laude & gloria del Vittorioſo* N. *E perche ciaſcuno conoſca la real verità di queſto fatto, habbiamo ſegnata la preſente carta con color vermiglio, e ſuggellata co'l noſtro real ſuggillo. Data nella noſtra Citta di* Parigi, *a 4. di* Luglio, *&c.*

The

The same in English.

PHilip by the grace of God King of *France*, &c. Be it knowen to all men vnto whom these letters shall come, and to euerie other person that take delight or pleasure in Armes, and generally to all Emperors, Kings, Dukes, Marquises, Earles, Princes, Barons, & other Gentlemen, that wee haue celebrated a solempne Triumph, to the honour, praise, and glorie of God, and the commendation of such as did fight in this honourable action of Armes. And being desirous, that they who haue valorouslie performed their parts without receiuing blame or disgrace, should be knowen: to the end honour may be giuen to euerie one according to his merit. Therefore we haue hereby ordeined, commaunded and iudged, for the euerlasting honour, praise, and glorie of the excellent and vertuous Gentleman *N.* his name shalbe proclaimed in euerie of the foure corners of the Lists or place of Iusts, by the King of Armes, the Herehaults and Pursiuants with our allowance, and by the censure of the Iudges of the field, representing our person: letting all men thereby to knowe, that the said. *N.* is the most excellent and most vertuous Gentleman of Armes in all our kingdome. We moreouer commaund, that he shall be mounted vpon a white horse, and that euery person present, aswell women as men shall with vs follow him in Processiō on foote: & that the said. *N.* shall ride vnder a Canopie vnto the Church. Wee likewise ordaine and commaund that in returne from the Church, we shall passe through the place of Iusts, and there the said. *N.* to take possession, and the keyes of the said Lists to be deliuered him by the King of Armes in signe of victorie. Lastly, we commaund, that the celebration of the feast shall continue the space of xv. dayes, to the commendation and glory of the victorious. *N.* And in witnes of the very troth in this matter, we haue signed these letters with red inke, and thereunto haue set our Royall seale. Dated in our Citie of *Paris*, the 4. of Iuly, &c.

What the vse at this time in like cases is, may appeare by the Prizes aforesaide bestowed by her Maiestie.

THE

THE FIFT BOOKE.

Of what qualitie a Gentleman profeſſing Armes ought to be.

Cap. 1.

BY conſideration of things conteined in theſe bookes, a Gentleman may bee enformed what are the true cauſes of quarrell or offence vnto Honor; what repulſes are due vnto Iniuries of all ſorts; what iudgement is to be giuen vpon accidents in the exerciſes of Armes. Whereunto wee added ſome particular examples of certeine Combats for life performed by perſons of honor within this land: and likewiſe haue noted the actions moſt glorious in Triumphs brought before the Princes of this realme. And forſomuch as theſe actions of Armes (chieflie on horſebacke) are, and euer haue been vſed of noble perſonages and Gentlemen of the beſt ſort, whom the *Romanes* in their floriſhing time by a generall terme called *Equites*, and are preſentlie both of the *Italians* and *Spaniards* named *Cauallieri*, without reſpect to priuate dignitie or other diſtinction: wee

will therefore for this time (yet with reſpect to each mans title) aduenture to engliſh the word *Eques*, a Gentleman that profeſſeth Honor, Vertue & Armes, or any of them, particularly reciting with what condition and qualities he ſhould bee endued: which in briefe are theſe.

1 Firſt, he ought be of good conſtitution in bodie, and conuenient ſtrength to ſuffer trauell, and performe the actions apperteining to a man of Armes.

2 Secondly, he ſhould be well fauoured of face and comelie: for commonlie GOD and Nature giueth beautie to ſuch perſons as are deſtined to command, and from others borne to obay they haue withholden that fauour. Which mooued ſome writers to affirme, that the princelie preſence of *Priamus* did ſhewe him to bee worthie of gouernment and command other men.

3 Thirdly, he ſhould be of bold aſpect, rather inclined to ſeueritie than ſoftneſſe: which countenance the *Swiſſes* and *Turkes* doo much affect.

4 Fourthly, he muſt be ſober and diſcreet; not inclined to vaine delights or effeminate pleaſures.

5 Fiftlie, that he be obedient. For of obedience proceedeth that the meaner are content to bee commanded by the better, and the ignorant by thoſe that know. This vertue was greatlie imbraced of the *Romanes*, and occaſioned their often victories: and at this day is well obſerued among the *Turkes*. And of the puniſhment for diſobedience towards the militarie Magiſtrates, the *Romanes* haue left two moſt notable examples; the one of *Manlius Torquatus*, who cauſed his owne ſonne for that fault to be ſlaine, notwithſtanding

withſtanding he had vanquiſhed the enemie. The other of *Papirius* the Dictator, who for the like offence was puniſhed by *Fabius Rutilius* Generall of the horſmen in the *Romane* Armie.

6 Sixtly, he ought bee vigilant and patient: for in the one conſiſteth the execution of warlike actions: by the other all trauailes, paines, and miſfortunes are indured.

7 Seuenthly, he muſt be faithfull and loyall, which qualitie is required in all ſorts of ſubiects, but chiefly in Soldiers, for thereupon dependeth his Princes ſecuritie and ſtate alſo: which mooued *Vigetius* to ſay that the ſafetie of a Prince conſiſted in well chooſing his Soldiers. Which is the cauſe that men profeſsing Armes, doo commonlie ſweare by the faith of a Soldier: the *French* man, *a foy de Soldat*: the *Italian*, *a fe di Soldato*, &c. Yea the Kings of *France* do commonlie vſe this phraſe, *a foy de gentil home*: *a foy du chiualier*.

8 Eightly, he ought bee conſtant and reſolute; becauſe reſolution maketh al difficulties eaſie, and conſtancie or perſeuerance bringeth perfection in that he profeſſeth.

9 Ninthly, that hee ſhould bee charitable, becauſe warres are not taken in hand for the deſtruction of Countries and townes, but the defence of the lawes and people.

Laſtly, that he ſhould be fortunate, ſith Fortune is the Ladie of Armies, becauſe ſhe ſheweth her vertue in nothing more, than in the aduentures of warre.

Of Knighthood.

CAP. 2.

FOrſomuch as in theſe former bookes wee haue diſcourſed the poynts of Honor, and in what ſort the exerciſes of Armes haue been vſed in *England*; it ſhall not be amiſſe but rather neceſſarie to ſpeake of Knighthood; which dignitie was at the beginning giuen chieflie for ſeruice in Armes and valiant enterpriſes. Our meaning therefore is, to examine the originall occaſion of the name of Knight, and how many orders and degrees of Knighthood there are or haue been in Chriſtendome. For performance whereof, it behoueth to knowe that the *Romanes* (among whom Martiall Diſcipline was firſt knowne, and names giuen to men for valerous merite) diuided their people into *Patrity* and *Plebei*. After that time, another diuiſiõ was made, as, *Senatores*, *Equites* and *Plebs*. As the *French* haue at this day *Les nobles & la populaire, or gentils homes & villains*. And wee in *England* diuide our men into foure ſorts, *Gentilmen*, *Citizens*, *Yeomen*, *Artificers* and *Labourers*. Of Gentlemen, the firſt and principall is the King, the Prince, Dukes, Marquiſes, Earles, Viconts, and Barons. Theſe are the Nobilitie, and be called Lords or Noblemen. Next to theſe bee Knights, Eſquires, and ſimple Gentlemen: which laſt number may be called *Nobilitas minor:* for they in Parliament haue no place among the Lords. Therefore the Barons or degree of Lords doo reſemble the dignitie of Senators in *Rome*, and the title of our Nobilitie is like vnto the

Patrity,

Patritij, when the *Patritij* did signifie *Senatores aut Senatorum filij*. But that degree which we doo now call Knighthood, is most like vnto the title in *Rome* named *Equestris ordo*: yet other opinions there are both of the beginning and name of Knight, as wel among the *Italians* as the *Spaniards*. But howsoeuer it was, most certeine it seemeth, that vntil *Equestris ordo* was erected in *Rome*, there was no such degree of men as we call Knights, neither was that name giuen with such ceremonie and shewe of dignitie, as since hath been vsed. Yet some there are that faile not to affirme that Knighthood had the originall from *Romulus*, in this sort.

That King hauing setled his Gouernment in *Rome*, partlie for securitie, & partlie for magnificence erected three Bands of Horsemen, the first called *Romence* after his owne name, the next *Titience*, after *Tito Tatio*, and the third *Luceria*, whereof only I thinke *Liuie* maketh mention. Hereupon they will inferre that Knighthood begun vnder *Romulus*.

The *Spaniards* doo hold opinion, that when faith and plaine dealing decaied, those men that made profession of warre, euerie thousand did choose but one man whom they thought to bee of greatest wisedome, courage and curtesie among the rest. That being done, they made choise of such an horse as was reputed to excell the rest for beautie, force, and other perfections, and forthwith gaue that beast vnto that man whom they had chosen, as though their intention were to conioyne that singular beast vnto that notable man, naming him *Caualiero*, which signifieth Horseman, though we improperly englishit Knight.

Thus much is ſaid in generall concerning Gentlemen that make profeſsion of Armes, whom the *Romanes* (as it ſeemeth) ſometimes called *Milites*, and ſome other times *Equites*. The *Italians* and *Spaniards Caualieri*: the *French*, *Cheualiers*. But in our language (as is now vſed) none are called Knights, but onelie they that haue that title giuen by the Prince, or his Lieutenant, with a ceremonie thereunto belonging. And of Knights made according to the vſe of *England*, are diuers degrees: as ſhall hereafter be declared.

The originall of Knighthood giuen as dignitie, and what Princes haue authoritie to make Knights.

Cap. 3.

IT is affirmed by ſome writers, that *Alexander* the great, with the aduiſe of his learned tutor *Ariſtotle*, reſolued to beſtowe vppon ſuch perſons as had done any notable ſeruice in the warre, ſome honor and degree, in token of extraordinarie vertue and notable merite: and therefore gaue vnto ſome Badges, to ſome Cheines, to ſome Priuileges, and other ſuch like demonſtrations of honor.

The *Romane* Emperours in like manner, ſometimes before the beginning of a ſeruice, and ſometimes after, beſtowed not onlie commendation, but alſo dignities on thoſe whoſe vertue they thought ſo worthie: as Crownets of Bayes, of Gold, of Myrtill, or ſome other thing, as was thought fit to the giuers. They gaue alſo Horſes, Swords, Armours, arming Garments,

Garments,& ſuch like: and they that receiued them, in token of Honor kept them carefullie in perpetuall memorie of their owne valour,and the honor of that Prince who gaue them. By this meane alſo they became much admired and eſteemed of all other Soldiers.

Afterwards,for more incouragement of vertuous minds,other Princes thought meete that the memorable acts of Soldiers ſhould be in perpetual memorie written,and ſuch Priuileges as were giuen, to bee recorded, calling them in thoſe writings valiant men, companions in Armes, victorious Soldiers and Knights. Which manner of proceeding did animate the men of warr no leſſe,than the great pourtraitures which the old *Romanes* were wont to make for thoſe that had performed egregious acts.

Touching the making of Knights, we ſay,that euerie Prince ſoueraine hath power to giue that dignitie to what perſon it pleaſeth him, as well in peace as warre. But here is to be noted, that the Knights made, are of more or leſſe reputation, according to the qualitie of that Prince that maketh them: for he that is made Knight by a King,ſhall bee preferred before a Knight made by a Prince of meaner title. Wherefore to conclude,wee ſay,that an Emperour, Kings,Dukes,and other Princes, acknowledging no ſuperiour, may make Knights: and ſo may Common weales, as the *Venetian* and *Genoa* States. The Popes alſo doo take vppon them to make Knights for monie, calling them commonlie after their owne names: *Cauallieri di San Petro, San Paulo, Giuliani, Pij,&c.*

The

The manner of making Knights, about the yere of our Lord. 1020.

Cap. 4.

IN that age, a Prince determining to make a Knight, cauſed a high ſcaffold to bee built in ſome Cathedrall Church of his kingdome, or other ſpacious place neere vnto it. Thether the Gentleman was brought to receiue that honor. Being come, he was foorthwith ſet vpon a Chaire of ſiluer couered with greene ſilke. Then was demanded of him, *if he were healthie in bodie, and able to endure the exerciſes required in a Soldier.* Alſo, *whether he were a man of honeſt conuerſation, and what witneſſes worthie credite he could produce to anſwere for him.* This being done, the Biſhop or chiefe officer of that Church tooke the Bible, and holding it open before the newe Knight, in the preſence of the King and all others, ſpake theſe words, ſaying. *Sir, you that deſire to receiue the order of Knighthood, ſweare before God and by this holie Bible, that ye ſhall neuer fight againſt this mightie and excellent Prince that beſtoweth the order of Knighthood vpon you, vnleſſe ye ſhall be occaſioned ſo to doo in the ſeruice of your owne King and naturall Prince: for in that caſe (hauing firſt yeelded vp the Coller, deuiſe, and other Enſignes of Honor now receiued) it ſhall bee lawfull for you to ſerue againſt him, without reproach or offence to all other companions in Armes: but otherwiſe dooing you ſhall incurre infamie, and being taken in warre, ſhall bee ſubiect to the paines of death.* Ye ſhall alſo ſweare, *with all your force & power to mainteine and defend al Ladies, Gentlewomen,*

women, Orfants, widowes, women diſtreſſed and abandoned. The like ye muſt doo for wiues being deſired, and ſhunne no aduenture of your perſon in euerie good warre wherein ye happen to be.

This oath taken, two of the chiefe Lords led him vnto the King, who preſentlie drew forth his Sword and laied the ſame vpon his head, and ſaid: *God and S. George* (or what other Saincts the King pleaſed to name) *make thee a good Knight.*

Then came vnto the Knight ſeuen noble maidens attired in white, and girt his Sword vnto his ſide.

That being done, foure Knights of the moſt honorable in that preſence put on his Spurres.

Theſe ceremonies paſt, the Queene tooke him by the right arme, and a Dutcheſſe by the left, and led him vnto a rich ſeate made on high, and thereupon ſet him: the King ſitting downe on the one hand, and the Queene on the other.

After the King and Queene were thus ſet, and the newe Knight betweene them, al the reſt of the Lords and Ladies ſet them downe alſo vppon other ſeates prepared for them, three diſſents vnder the Kings ſeate.

Euerie Lord and Ladie being in this ſort placed, thether was brought a ſolemne Collation or Banquet of delicate meates, whereof the Knight, the King, the Queene, and the whole companie did eate. And ſo the Ceremonie ended.

The order of disgrading of Knights in those daies.

CAP. 5.

IF any Knight had in that time been corrupted with monie by his Princes enemie, or committed any other notable fault against loyaltie and honor, the other Knights forthwith made humble suite vnto the King that he might bee punished. Which request being granted, they apprehended the offender, and caused him to bee armed from head to foote, in such sort as if he should go to the field. Which done, they led him vp to an high stage made in a Church for that purpose, where were thirteene Priestes saying those praiers ordinarily vsed at Burials, as though that Knight had lien dead at their feete. At the end of euerie Psalme they tooke from him one peece of his Armour. First, *they tooke off his Helmet as that which defended his traiterous eyes*, then *his Gauntlet on the right side as that which couered a corrupt hand:* then *the Gauntlet of the left hand, as from a member consenting*. And so by peecemeale dispoyled him of all his Armes, as well offensiue as defensiue, which one after another were throwne to the ground: and at the instant when euery part of Armour was cast downe, the King of Armes first, and after him all the other Herehaults cried aloud, saying: *This is the Helmet of a disloyall and miscreant Knight*. Then was brought thether a Bason of gold or siluer full of warme water: which being holden vp, the Herehaults with a loud voyce, sayd: *What is this Knights name?* The Pursevants

uants anſwered that which in trueth was his name. Then the King of Armes ſayd. *That is not true, for he is a miſcreant and falſe traitor, and ſuch a one as hath broken the ordinance of Knighthood.* Thereunto anſwered the Chaplins. *Let vs giue him his right name.* Then ſpake the Trompets. *What ſhall be done with him?* To which words the King anſwered: *Let him bee with diſhonor and ſhame baniſhed my kingdome, as a vile and infamous man that hath done offence againſt the honor of Knighthood.* When the King had ſo ſaid, the King of Armes and other Herehaults caſt the warme water on the diſgraded Knights face (as though he were a new baptized) ſaying: *Hencefoorth thou ſhalt be called by thy right name Traitor.* Then the King together with twelue other Knights put vppon them mourning garments declaring ſorowe: and comming vnto the Knight diſgraded put him downe the ſtage, not by the ſtaiers he mounted vp, when he was made Knight, but threwe him downe tyed vnto a rope. Then with great ignomie he was brought vnto the Altar, and there laied groueling on the ground, and ouer him was read a Pſalme full of curſes.

Theſe were the Ceremonies vſed at the degradatiõ of Knights in the time of *Sir Triſtram, Sir Lancelot,* and other famous Knights, who were (no doubt) men very valiant in Armes: but by meanes of writers that haue added vnto their acts many vntruths, their proweſſe and enterpriſes are holden as fables.

How many orders and degrees of Knighthood haue been: and of them how many yet extant.

CAP. 6.

1 THe firſt and moſt noble order, both for antiquitie and honor, is that of the *GARTER*.
2 The next to it is that of the *TOSON*.
3 The third is that of *S. MICHAEL*.
4 The fourth is that of the *NVNTIATA*.

5 There is alſo one newe order of Knighthood in *France*, called the Order of *S. ESPRIT*: whereof I am not fullie enformed.

All theſe Knights be called *Knights of the Coller*, in ſigne they excell others in Honor and reputation: as thoſe Orders whereinto Emperours, Kings and Princes doo enter.

Next to theſe in dignitie, are

1 The Knights of the *BAND*.
2 The Knights of *S. IAGO*.
3 The Knights of *CALATRAVA*.
4 The Knights of *ALCANTARA*.
5 The Knights of *MONTESIO*.
6 The Knights of *REDEMPTION*.
7 The Knights of *MALTA*.
8 The Knights *TEVTONICI*.

The

The third sort of Knights, are

1 The Knights of the *SEPVLCHER.*
2 The Knights of *SANTA MARIA.*
3 The Knights of *S. LAZARO.*
4 The Knights of *S. STEFFANO.*

These may bee called rather Knights of Superstition, than persons of Honor.

Among these, wee make no mention of Knights of the *Round Table:* neither haue wee set downe the Knights of *Amadis de Gaule*, nor of *Orlando Furioso:* Yet doo I suppose some part of those stories to bee matters of trueth, although writers haue added vnto them things incredible. By which meane the histories themselues are holen fabulous.

Wee haue not here spoken of the Knights of the *Starre*, nor of them which were called Knights of the *Spurre:* which Orders are extinct, or not regarded. The Knights *Templers* were also long since cleerelie suppressed.

Of the Order of the Garter.

CAP. 7.



EDWARD the third King of *England*, after he had obteined many great victories, (King *Iohn* of *France*, King *Iames* of *Scotland*, being both prisoners in the Tower of *London* at one time, and King *Henrie* of *Castile* the bastard expulsed, and *Don Pedro* restored by the Prince of *Wales*) did first erect this Order in his Kingdome *Anno* 1350. vppon no weightie

weightie occaſion (as is reported). Notwithſtãding, the ſame is, and long hath been in ſo great honor, as Emperours, Kings and Princes haue deſired to bee of that companie, accompting it great Honor.

The number of this Colledge or fellowſhip is 26. Knights, and when any of them dye, another is choſen by conſent of the companie.

The Soueraine of the Order is the King of *England*, his heires and ſucceſſors.



THe habit of theſe Knights is a Kirtle, Gowne, Cloak, Chapperon, Coller, whereat hãgeth the image of *S. George*. Alſo a Garter richlie furniſhed with gold and precious ſtones, wherevpõ theſe French words are written: *Hony ſoyt qui maly pence*. Which may bee thus in Engliſh: *Euill come to him, that euill thinketh.*

This Order was dedicated to *S. George*, as the Aduocate of thoſe Knights.

The cuſtome was long, that theſe Knights yeerely held a feaſt at the Caſtle of *Winſor*, where is alſo the Church founded by the ſame King *Edward*, who likewiſe gaue great ſtipends to certeine Prieſtes to ſerue there.

It is not commonlie knowne what was the occaſion that mooued the King to make this Order: but thus haue I heard it vulgarlie reported. That King

Edward

Edward dauncing with the Queene and other Ladies of his Court, tooke vp a Garter that happened to fall from one of them: whereat ſome of the Lords ſmiling, the King ſaid vnto them, that or it were long he would make that Garter to bee of high reputation. Vpon this ground (it is ſayd) the Order tooke beginning.

Euerie yeare all the Knights on the feaſt day of *S. George*, are bound to reſort vnto *Windſor*, or ſuch other place as by the Soueraine ſhall be appoynted.

The principall Officers apperteining to this moſt honorable Order, are theſe. The Prelate. The Chancellor. The Regiſter. The King of Armes named *Garter*: and the Vſher called the *Blacke Rod*. Which places are preſentlie furniſhed with theſe perſons. *viz.*

Doctor *Cooper* Biſhop of *Winchſter*, Prelate.

Maſter *Iohn Wolly* Eſquire, one of her Maieſties priuie Counſell, Chauncellor.

Doctor *Day* Deane of *Winſor*, Regiſter.

Maſter *W. Dethicke* chiefe King of Armes, *Garter*.

Maſter *William Norris* Eſquire, Vſher.

The Statutes of this great Order are remaining with the ſayd Maſter *Garter*, a Gentleman verie ſtudious in his facultie, and carefull to preſerue the Records belonging vnto the Nobilitie of *England*. From him I receiued the names of theſe Knights of the firſt inſtitution of the GARTER, which I found in an auncient booke of his written in the French tongue.

The

The firſt Knights of *the Order.*

King *Edward* Soueraine.

The Prince of *Wales* his ſonne.

The Duke of *Lancaſter.*

The Earle of *Warwicke.*

The Capteine *de Buch.*

The Earle of *Stafford.*

The Earle of *Salisburie.*

The Lord *Mortimer.*

Sir *Iohn Liſle.*

Sir *Bartholmew de Bourcheſh.*

Sir *Iohn Bewchamp.*

The Lord of *Mahun.*

Sir *Hugh Courtney.*

Sir *Thomas de Holland.*

Sir *Iohn de Grey.*

Sir *Richard Fitzſimond.*

Sir *Miles Stapleton.*

Sir *Thomas Walle.*

Sir *Hugh Worteſley.*

Sir *Neel Loring.*

Sir *Iohn Chandos.*

Sir *Iames Dandely.*

Sir *de Holang.*

Sir *Henrie Eme.*

Sir *Fauchet de Prichcourt.*

Sir *Walter Pauelly.*

The names of thoſe that are preſentlie of *the ſame moſt noble Order.*

The Queene of *England* Soueraine.

The King of *Spaine.*
The Duke *Caſemirus.*
The *Vice Conte Montacute,*
The Earle of *Shrewsburie,* Earle Marſhall of *England.*
The Lord of *Honſdon,* Lord Chamberlein.
The Earle of *Warwicke.*
The Earle of *Huntingdon.*
The Lord *Bourleigh,* Lord Threaſurer of *England.*
The Lord *Grey.*
The Earle of *Darbie.*
The Earle of *Pembrooke.*
The L. *Howard* of *Effingham,* L. Admirall of *England.*
The Lord *Cobham.*
The Lord *Scroope.*
The Earle of *Eſſex.*
The Earle of *Ormond.*
Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton,* Lord Chauncelor of *England.*
The Earle of *Suſſex.*
The Lord *Buckhurſt.*

Other

Other degrees of Knighthood in England.

CAP. 8.

THree other ſorts of Knights there are in *England:* but becauſe they weare no garment, badge or ſigne to ſhewe the difference of their degree from other Gentlemen, they are not noted or known to ſtrangers for Knights. Yet among our ſelues wee knowe them right well: for euerie man hauing that dignitie is called *Sir.* As *Sir Thomas, Sir Iohn, Sir William, &c.*

But here is to be noted, that Knights are not borne, but made, either before a Battaile to encourage them to aduenture their liues, or after the fight, as an aduancement for their valour then ſhewed: or out of warre they are made for ſome notable ſeruice done, or ſome good hope of vertues that doo appeare in them.

Theſe Knights are made either by the King himſelfe, or by his commiſsion and royall authoritie giuen for that purpoſe, or by his Liutenant in the wars, who hath his royall & abſolute power for that time. And this order may be reſembled to that which the *Romanes* called *Equites Romanos*, differing in a ſort, but in ſome other ſort doth agree with it: for ſeldome in all poynts one Common wealth doth agree with an other, nor long any State accordeth with it ſelfe. *Equites Romani* were choſen *ex Cenſu*, which is according to their ſubſtance and riches: Euen ſo be Knights in *England* for the moſt part, according to the yearely re-

uenew of their lands, being able to mainteine that eſtate: yet all they that had *Equeſtrem Cenſum*, were not in *Rome Equites*: no more are all Knights in *England* that may diſpend a Knights land or fee, but they onlie to whom it pleaſeth the King to giue that honor. In *Rome* the number of *Equites* was vncerteine, and ſo is it of Knights in *England* at the pleaſure of the Prince.

Equites Romani had *Equum publicum*, but the Knights of *England* find horſes themſelues both in peace and warre. *Cenſus Equeſter* among the *Romanes* was at diuers times of diuers valewe: but in *England*, who ſo euer may diſpend of his free lands fortie pounds ſtarling of yearely reuenew, by an old lawe, either at the Coronation of the King, or mariage of his daughter, or at the dubbing of the Prince, Knight, or ſome ſuch great occaſion, may bee by the King compelled to take that order and honor, or to pay a fine: which many rich men, not ſo deſirous of honor as of riches, had rather diſburſe. Some alſo who for good reſpect are not thought worthie that title, and yet haue abilitie, neither bee made Knights though they would, and yet pay the fine of fortie pounds ſtarling, which (as ſiluer is now priſed) is 120. pound currant monie. Wherof this word *Knight* is deriued: or whether it ſignifieth no more but that which *Miles* doth in Latin, which is Soldier, I know not. Some hold opiniõ that the word *Soldier* doth betoken a waged or hiered man to fight. *Cæſar* in his *Commentaries* called *Soldiers*, men deuoted and ſworne by band or oath to ſerue the Capteine: which order if the *Almaines* did followe, it may bee that they who were not hiered,

but

but being of the Nation vppon their owne charges and for their aduancement, and by ſuch common oath and band that did followe the warre, were (perhaps) called *Knights* or *Milites:* and now among the *Almaines* ſome are called *Lance-Knights*, as Soldiers not hiered, although they bee well neere all hiered. Or it may bee that they which were next about the Prince, as his Gard and ſeruants, picked and choyſe men out of the reſt, being called in the *Almaine* tung *Knighten*, which is as much to ſay as Seruants: theſe men being found of good ſeruice, the word afterward was taken for an Honor, & for a man that profeſſeth Armes. Now our language is ſo altered, that hard it were to giue iudgement thereof. But ſure it is, wee in our Engliſh doo call him *Knight*, whom the French doo call *Cheualier*, and the Latin *Equitem*, or *Equeſtris ordinis.*

Touching the making of theſe *Engliſh* Knights: the manner is this. Hee that is to be made Knight, is ſtriken by the Prince with a Sword drawne, vpon his backe or ſhoulder: the Prince ſaying, *Soys Cheualier*, and in times paſt was added *S. George.* And when the Knight riſeth, the Prince ſaith, *Auancé.* This is the manner of dubbing Knights at this preſent: and that terme dubbing was the old terme in this poynt, and not creating. Theſe ſorts of Knights, are by the Herehaults called *Knights Batchelers.*

Of Knights of the Bath.

AT the Coronation of a King or Queene there are made Knights of the *Bath*, with long and curious Ceremonies, whereof I am not perfectly enformed.

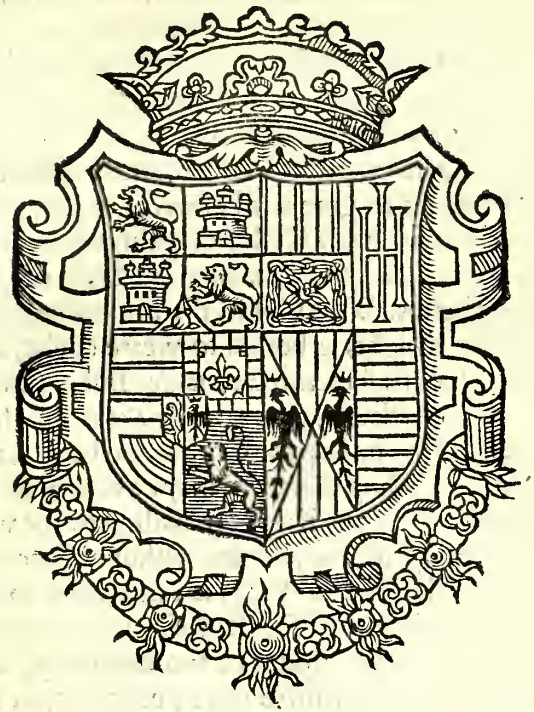
Of Knights Bannerets.

THeſe Knights are made in the field onlie, with the Ceremonie of cutting away the point of his Standerd, and making it as it were a Banner: he being before a Batcheler Knight, ſhall then become of greater degree, allowed to diſplay his Armes in a Banner, as Barons do: and the wiues of all theſe three degrees of Knights ſhall be called Ladies, as Barons wiues are.

The

The Order of the Toſon, *and the originall thereof.*

CAP. 9.



THe number of Knights that were at the firſt admitted into this Order was 31. who ought bee of noble bloud, men of good merite, and without reproach.

The chiefe or head of this companie, is he vnto whom the ſucceſsion of the Dukedome of *Burgondy* doth lawfullie diſcend.

Who-

Whosoeuer entereth into this Order, shall renounce all other Orders of Knighthood of euerie Prince, Companie or Religion. Yet out of that lawe are excepted all Emperours, Kings and Dukes, vnto whom is dispensed, that they may weare the Badge of this Order, if they bee chiefe and Soueraines of their owne Order. But to the end the truth may appeare, a generall Counsell of Knights shall bee called to consent vnto that dispensation.

The Soueraine of this Order, hath authoritie himselfe alone to giue and bestowe the Ensigne of the Order: which is a Coller of gold, wherein are the Armes of *Burgondie*, hauing the *Toson* of gold hanging thereat. This Coller, the Soueraine and euerie of the Knights is bound to weare daylie, and failing thereof shall incurre a penaltie. But in time of warre or great affaires, to weare the *Toson* onlie shall suffice. Or if by mishap the Cheine doo breake, it is lawfull for mending thereof it may be carried to the Goldsmith. Or if any Knight trauailing by the way shall doubt to be robbed, he may without offence lay by or hide his Cheine. Yet is it not lawfull to encrease the quantitie of the said Cheine, nor adde thereunto any other stones or workmanship, and most of all it is vnlawfull to sell it, engage it, or exchange it.

These and many other Statutes and ordinances the Knights of this noble Order are sworne to obserue and keepe. And many of them haue been sith the first institution enlarged, altered, or taken away by the Soueraines of the said Order.

The day of assemblie for these Knights, was at the first

firſt inſtitution appoynted on the feaſt of *S. Andrew*, but ſithence altered vnto the ſecond of May, and that but once in three yeares, vnleſſe it ſhall pleaſe the Soueraine otherwiſe to command.

To this Order doo belong foure principall Officers. That is, a Chauncelor, a Threaſurer, a Regiſter, a King of Armes named *Toſon d'oro*.

The firſt inuenter of the *Impreſa* belonging to the Order of the *Toſon*, was *Charles* Duke of *Burgondie*, whoſe great valour brought the *French* King *Lewis* the xj. into much trouble and warre, as *Monſier de Argenton* writeth.

His *Impreſa* or deuiſe was an Inſtrument made to ſtrike fire, with theſe words: *Ante ferit, quam flammamicet*. Meaning, he had power to kindle great warre, as indeed he had. But his warres had vnhappie euent. For hauing in hand a warre againſt *Lorayn* and the *Swiſſes*, after the defeate of *Morat* and *Grauſon*, he was vtterlie ouerthrowne and ſlaine before *Nanſi*, the euen of the *Epiphany*. Wherevpon *Renato* Duke of *Lorayn* being victorious, and ſeeing a Standerd of Duke *Charles*, with the *Impreſa* of the Inſtrument of fire, ſaid. *That vnhappie Prince when hee had moſt neede to warme him, wanted leiſure to ſtrike fire.* Which ſpeach was verie pithie; and the more, for that the earth was then couered with Snowe, and by reaſon of the conflict full of bloud. At that time was the greateſt froſt and cold that any liuing man could remember.

The *Toſon* which theſe Knights doo weare hanging at their collers of the Order, is the forme of a golden Fleece, expounded to bee like vnto the Fleece of

gold which *Iaſon* wonne at *Colchos*. Others ſuppoſe it to bee the Fleece of *Gedeon*, whereof is made mention in holie Scripture: which ſignifieth, *Fidelitie* or *Iuſtice* vncorrupted.

The number of theſe Knights was much encreaſed by the Emperour *Charles* the fift: who hauing in hand the Dukedome of *Burgondie*, elected into that Order perſons of greater qualitie than were at the firſt, and would haue that the election ſhould bee by conſent. And after him King *Phillip* did the like.

Here is to bee noted, that albeit Duke *Charles* did inuent the *Impreſa*: yet the Creation was begun after by Duke *Phillip*, ſir named *Le bon*: at ſuch time as he called a generall aſſemblie of the States at the *Hage* in *Holland*. *Anno*. 1456.

The

The names of Knights in this *first Creation.*

Phillip Duke of *Burgondie*, Soueraine.
William of *Vienna* of *S. George.*
Rinieri Pot, Lord of the Caſtell.
The Lord of *Rombaix.*
The Lord *Montacute.*
Orland of *Vquerque.*
Anthonie of *Vergi*, Conte of *Ligny.*
Hugh of *Lanoy*, Lord of *Santes.*
Iohn, Lord of *Cominges.*
Anthonie of *Tolongeon*, Marſhall of *Burgondie.*
Peter of *Lucimburg*, Conte of *Beureuie.*
Gilbert of *Lanoy*, Lord of *Villerual.*
Iohn Villiers, Lord of *Iſleadam.*
Anthonie Lord of *Croy* and of *Renti.*
Florimonte of *Brimeu*, Lord of *Maſsincure.*
Robert, Lord of *Mamimes.*
Iames of *Brimeu*, Lord of *Grigni.*
Baldwin Lanoy, Lord of *Mulambais.*
Peter of *Baufremont*, Lord of *Cargni.*
Phillip, Lord of *Teruant.*
Iohn of *Orequi.*
Iohn of *Croy* Lord of *Twors, ſuper Marne.*

The Knights elected into the Order *of* Toſon, *by* Phillip *King of* Spaine and Duke of *Burgondie.*

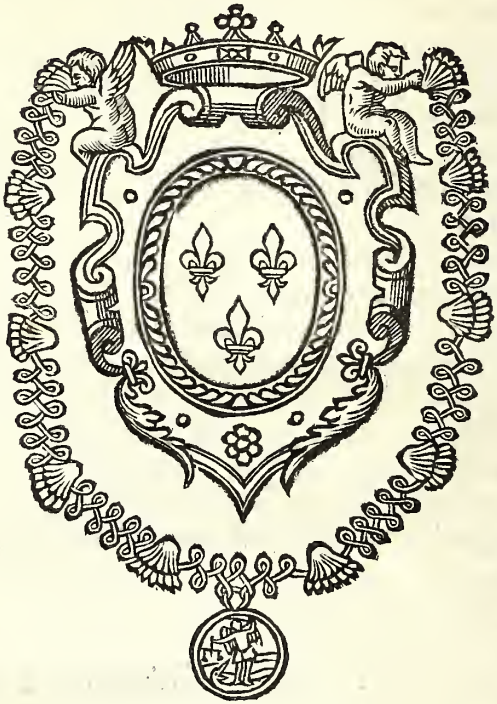
1 *Phillip* Duke of *Auſtria*, and King of *Spaine*, Soueraine of the Order.
2 *Maximilian* the Emperour, ſecond of that name.
3 *Don Beltramo della Cueua*, Duke of *Alburqueque.*
4 *Don Inigo Lopes di Mendoza*, Duke of *Infantaſgo.*
5 *Coſmo di Medici* Duke of *Florence*, and of *Siena.*
6 *Don Emanuel Filibert*, Duke of *Sauoya.*
7 The Admiral Conte of *Egmont*, Prince of *Gaure.*
8 *Iohn* of *Ligni* Conte of *Arumberghe*, Baron of *Brabanſon.*
9 *Octauio Farneſe* Duke of *Parma* and *Piacenza.*
10 *Marco Antonio Colonna*, Duke of *Palliano* and Baron of *Rome.*
11 *Ferdinando* Duke of *Auſtria.*
12 *Don Conſaluo Fernandes* of *Cordoua*, Duke of *Seſſa* and *Ferranoua*, Conte of *Cabia.*
13 *Don Pedro Hernandes* of *Velaſco* Duke *Frius*, Coneſtable of *Caſtiglia.*
14 *Don Fernando Aluares* of *Toledo* Duke of *Alua.*
15 *Albert*, Duke of *Bauiera.*
16 *Henrie* Duke of *Branſwich e Luniburg.*
17 *Pietro Herneſto* Conte *di Mansfelt.*
18 *Phillip de Croij*, Duke of *Arſcot.*
19 *Charles* Prince of *Spaine.*
20 *Phillip Montmorancy* Conte of *Horne.*

21 *William*

21 *William of Naſſau*, Prince of *Orange*, and Lord of *Breda*.
22 *Iohn* Conte of *Oſtfaie*.
23 *Charles* Baron of *Barlemont*, Lord of *Perunet*.
24 *Charles of Brimen*, Conte of *Megen*, Lord of *Huercourt*.
25 *Iohn*, Marquis of *Berges*, Conte of *Walhayn*.
26 *Antonio Doria* Marquis of *San Steffano*, Lord of *Gierſa*.
27 *Don Franciſco Fernandes d' Auolos*, Marquis of *Piſcara*.
28 *Sforza Sforza S. Fiore*, Conte of *S. Maria*, of *Verſi*, Lord of *Caſtello Arquato*.
29 *Phillip of Montmorancy* Lord of *Aricourt*.
30 *William of Croij* Marquis of *Renty*.
31 *Florence of Montmorancy* Lord of *Montegnij*.
32 *Phillip* Conte of *Ligni*, and of *Faulquembergh*.
33 *Charles of Lanij* Prince of *Sulmona*.
34 *Anthony of Salaing* Conte of *Hoochſtrat*.
35 *Giouachino of Mehauſem* great Chauncelor of *Boemia*.
36 The Duke of *Medina Celi*.
37 The Duke of *Cordoua*.
38 The King of *Portugall* when he comes to full age.

Of the Order of S. Michael.

CAP. 10.



IN the yeare 1469. *Lewis* the xj. then *French* King erected an Order of Knighthood, whereinto himselfe, with others the most principall Peeres of *France* did enter.

It is said, the occasion which mooued the King to intitle this Order with the name of *S. Michael*, was the memorie of an apparition of that Saint vpon the bridge

bridge of *Orleance*, when that Citie was assailed by the *English*: at which time liued a certeine Maiden called *Ioane*, a woman so rare of wit and valiant in Armes, as was reputed more than a mortall creature, or rather some Inchantresse of singuler knowledge. This I find written: but in that time of Superstition easie it was to induce the people to beleeue things incredible.

This Order is also ornefied with a great Coller, whereat hangeth the Image of *S. Michael*.

The words apperteining thereunto are these: *Immensi tremor Oceani*.

The Soueraine of this Order is the *French* King and his successors.

The number of Knights that ought bee admitted into the said Order is 36. But of late yeares that ordinance hath been broken, and the number so much increased, as thereby the Order is become of small reputation: yet is it thought that the Coller apperteining vnto the said Order is giuen onelie to the number aforesaid: although the *Michael* is bestowed on many. But sure it is that the intent of that King was to make choyse onelie of the most noble personages of his owne bloud, and of others who for vertue and honor were holden worthie, as by the first election appeared: who were these.

The

The firſt Knights of the Order *of* S. Michael.

Lewis the xj. Soueraine.

King *Charles* of *Spaine* Duke of *Vienna*.

Iohn Duke of *Burbon* and of *Auergne*.

Lewis of *Lucimburg*, Conte of *S. Paule*, and Coneſtable of *France*.

Andrew di Laual, Lord of *Loheac*, Marſhall of *France*.

Iohn Conte of *Sanſerre*, Lord of *Bueil*.

Lewis of *Beaumont*, Lord of the Forreſt and of *Pleſſis Mace*.

Iohn of *Tutuille* Lord of *Caſtiglione*.

Lewis Baſtard of *Burbon*, Conte of *Roſſiglione* Admirall of *France*.

Anthony of *Chiabanes*, Conte of *Dammartin*, Grand maſter of the Kings houſe.

Iohn

Iohn Baſtard of *Armignac*, Conte of *Cominges*, Marſhall of *France*, and Gouernour of the *Delfinato*.

George of *Trimouille*, Lord of *Craon*.

Gilbert of *Gabanes*, Lord of *Croton*, Seneſchall of *Vienna*.

Lewis Lord of *Curſol*, Seneſchall of *Poilou*.

Tanequi of *Caſtello*, Gouernour of the Prouince of *Roſsiglion* and of *Sardena*.

The reſt of Knights to be choſen into this Order, was deferred vntill the next meeting.

The place of aſſemblie of theſe Knights, & where their Armes and other Enſignes of Knighthood ſhould be preſerued, was appointed to be the Church on Mount *S. Michael*.

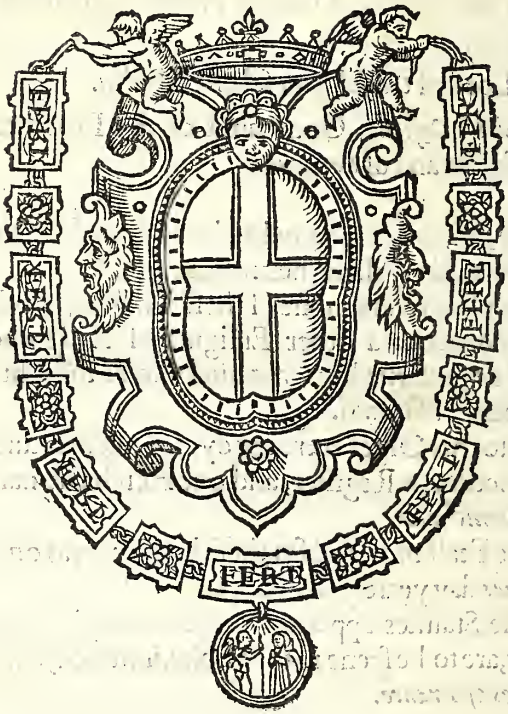
Vnto this Order were appoynted a Threaſurer, a Chauncellor, a Regiſter, and one Herehault named *Monſanmichaele*.

The Feaſt ordeined for theſe Knights was on *Michaelmas* day yearely to be kept.

The Statutes apperteining vnto this honorable Order, are to be ſeene in the booke, intituled, *The Ordinances of France*.

Of the Order called the Nuntiata.

CAP. II.



THis Order was alſo about the ſame time begun by *Amedeo* Conte of *Sauoy*, ſirnamed *il Verde*, in memorie of *Amedeo* the firſt Earle, who hauing valerouſlie defended the Iland of *Rhody* againſt the *Turkes*, wanne thoſe Armes, which deſeruinglie is now borne by the Dukes of *Sauoya*, which is a white Croſſe in a field *Gules*. The Coller apperteining

apperteining to this Order, is made of gold, and on it theſe foure letters ingraued, in this wiſe. *F. E. R. T.* which ſignifieth *Fortitudo eius, Rhodum tenuit.* At the ſaid Coller hangeth a Brooch, wherein is the figure of our Ladie and the Angell ſent vnto her.

The Church appoynted for Ceremonies apperteining vnto this Order is called *Pietra*, a Caſtell within the Dioceſſe of *Belleis*, whereunto was giuen at the foundation of this Order, certeine lands for the ſuſtentation of fifteene Chaplins.

For continuance of this Order, at the time of the conſtitution were made many honorable ordinances to be kept by the Knights preſentlie elected, and after to be elected: which are to bee found written in the works of *Franciſco Sanſouino.*

Theſe foure Orders aforeſaid bee reputed moſt honorable, and are adorned with great Collers, in token that for ſtate and dignitie they excell the reſt.

Knights of the Band.

CAP. 12.

THis Order was firſt erected by *Alfonſo* King of *Spaine*, ſonne to *Ferdinando* and Queene *Conſtanza* in the yeare 1268. And to giue the ſayd Knighthood reputation & honor, the King himſelfe, with his ſonnes and brethren vouchſafed to enter thereinto: with them were alſo admitted diuers other Gentlemen of beſt qualitie and greateſt eſtimation.

The cauſe that mooued the King to name them Knights of the *Band*, was, for that he commanded euerie man elected into the Order, ſhould weare a certeine red ſcarffe or lace of ſilke the breadth of three inches, which hung on their left ſhoulder, and was tyed vnder the right arme.

No man might enter into this Knighthood, but ſuch as the King did ſpeciallie admit: neither was anie perſon capable of that dignitie, vnleſſe he were the ſonne of a Knight, or ſome Gentleman of great accompt, or at the leaſt ſuch a one as had ſerued the King by the ſpace of tenne yeares in his Court, or in the warre againſt the *Moores*.

Into this Order no Gentleman could bee receiued being an elder brother, or an heire in poſſeſsion or apparance, but onelie ſuch as were yonger, without land and liueload; becauſe the Kings intention was to aduance the Gentlemen of his Court that had not of their owne.

At ſuch time as any Gentleman was admitted a Knight,

Knight, he promiſed to obſerue theſe Articles following, which I haue thought good particularlie to expreſſe, & the rather becauſe they tend onlie to enterteine the minds of men in the offices of Courage and Courteſie, without any mixture of ſuperſtition, whereof almoſt al other Orders in thoſe daies taſted.

Firſt, that he ſhould ſpeake vnto the King for the commoditie of the Common wealth & the defence thereof, ſo often as he were thereunto required. And refuſing ſo to doo, ſhall forfeit all his patrimonie, and be baniſhed his Countrie.

That he ſhould aboue all things ſpeake the truth vnto the King, and at euerie occaſion bee faithfull to his Maieſtie.

That he ſhould not be ſilent when ſo euer any perſon ſhould ſpeake againſt the Kings honor: vppon paine of being baniſhed the Court, and depriued of his Band for euer.

That he ſhould bee no great ſpeaker, and in ſpeaking to vtter the truth. But if he ſhould affirme or ſay any vntruth, then for a puniſhment to walke in the ſtreetes without his ſword for one whole moneth.

That he ſhould endeuour himſelfe to keepe companie with wiſe men, and perſons experienced in the warre. For being found to conuerſe with Marchants, Artificers, or baſe people, he ſhould bee therefore greatlie reprooued by the Great Maſter, and for one moneth be commanded to keepe his houſe.

That he ſhould mainteine his owne word, and faithfullie keepe promiſe with his friends. And being found to doo otherwiſe, to be enioyned to walke and goe alone vnaccompanied of any other of the

Kings Court, and ſhould not preſume to ſpeake or come neere vnto any other Knight.

That he ſhould alwaies haue good Armour in his Chamber, good horſes in his ſtable, good Launces in his Hall, and a good Sword by his ſide: or otherwiſe to be called Page and no Knight for one whole moneth.

That he ſhould not bee ſeen mounted vppon any Mule, or other vnſeemelie Hackney: neither walke abroad without his Band, nor enter into the Kings Pallace without his Sword, nor eate alone at home, vppon paine to forfeit for euerie ſuch offence one marke towards the mainteining of the Tilt.

That he ſhould bee no flatterer of the King or any other perſon, neither take delight in ſcoffing, vpon paine to walke on foote for one moneth, and be confined to his houſe another moneth.

That he ſhould not complaine of any hurt, nor boaſt of his owne acts, nor in curing his wounds crie oh: for if in vaunting wiſe he vttered any oſtentacious ſpeach, he ſhould bee reproued by the great Maſter, and let alone vnuiſited of all his companions.

That he ſhould bee no common gameſter, chieflie at the Dice, nor conſent that others ſhould play in his houſe, vpon paine to forfeit for euerie ſuch offence one moneths pay, and for one moneth and halfe not to be ſeene in the Court.

That he ſhould not in any ſort lay to pawne his Armour or weapons, nor play away his garments: vppon paine to bee impriſoned in his owne houſe a whole moneth, and for two moneths following to go without the Band.

That

That he ſhould be daylie apparelled in fine cloath, and on holie daies in ſilke: and on high Feaſts weare gold in his garments if he pleaſed, without being compelled ſo to doo. But if he did weare Buskins vpon netherſtocks of cloath, the great Maſter ſhould take them from him, and giue them in almes to the poore.

That in walking either in the Court or Citie, his pace ſhould not be ſwift or haſtie, vpon paine to bee reproued of his fellowe Knights, and puniſhed at the great Maſters diſcretion.

That he ſhould not ſpeake any thing vnfit or offenſiue to his fellowes in Armes, vpon paine to aske him forgiuenes, and to bee baniſhed the Court for three moneths.

That he ſhould not commence or enter ſuite of lawe againſt the daughter of any Knight, vpon paine neuer to haue Ladie or Gentlewoman of the Court to his miſtris or wife.

That if he happened to meete with any Ladie or Gentlewoman of the Court, he ſhould foorthwith alight from his horſe and offer her his ſeruice, vpon paine to loſe one moneths wages and the fauour of all Ladies.

That if any Ladie of Honor required ſeruice at his hand, he refuſing to doo it (hauing power) ſhould be called for euer the diſcourteous Knight.

That he ſhould not eate alone, nor at any time feed vpon groſſe meates.

That he ſhould not enter quarrell with any of his fellowe Knights: or if any ſuch diſagreement did happen, that he nor any other Knight ſhould make

partie,

partie, but by all good meanes ſeeke to reconcile them, vpon paine to pay a marke towards the charge of the next Iuſts.

That if any man not being of this Order ſhould preſume to weare the Band, that then he ſhould bee forced to fight with two Knights: but vanquiſhing them, ſhould be alſo a Knight himſelfe: & being vanquiſhed, ſhould bee baniſhed the Court, and neuer to weare the Band.

That if at any Iuſts or Turnaments in the Court, a Gentleman being not of the Order, ſhould winne the prize, then the King was bound forthwith to make him a Knight of the Band.

That if any Knight of the Band did offer to draw his ſword againſt any of his fellowes: for ſo dooing ſhould abſent himſelfe two moneths, and two other moneths weare but halfe his Band. And if a Knight did hurt his fellowe in Armes, he ſhould be impriſoned one halfe yeare, and the next halfe yeare be baniſhed the Court.

That no Knight for any offence ſhould bee puniſhed or iudged, before he were brought to the King and his pleaſure ſignified.

That he ſhould bee euer furniſhed to attend on the King whenſoeuer he went to the warre: and if any battell were ſtriken, then ought theſe Knights ioyntlie to giue the charge: and if in any ſuch ſeruice a Knight performed not his part, he ſhould loſe one yeares pay, and one other yeare weare but halfe the Band.

That no Knight ſhould be inforced to ſerue in any warre, ſaue onlie againſt the Infidels. Or attending

on

on the King to any other warre to weare no Band: and if he ſerued any other Prince in his warre, he ſhould loſe the Band.

That all the Knights ſhould aſſemble three times a yeare to conſult vpon matters perteining to the Order. The aſſemblie was at ſuch place as the King pleaſed to appoynt, and there they awaited with their Horſe and Armour: the firſt meeting was in Aprill, the ſecond in September, and the laſt in Chriſtmas.

That all the Knights of this Order ſhould fight at the Turney at the leaſt twiſe euerie yeare, Iuſt foure times a yeare, play at the Canes ſixe times a yeare, and manage horſes euerie weeke. And who ſo failed to performe all or any of theſe Knightly exerciſes, ſhould attend on the King one moneth without a Sword, and one other moneth without a Band.

That if the King did come to any citie or towne, that then the Knights within eight daies after, ſhould prepare a place for the Iuſts and Turniaments: they ſhould alſo exerciſe all other warlike weapons: and if any Knight were negligent in theſe things, hee ſhould bee confined to his lodging, and weare but halfe the Band.

That no Knight might remaine in Court without a Miſtris, with intent to martie her, and not diſhonor her: and whenſoeuer ſhe pleaſed to walke, he was to attend on her on foote or horſebacke, to doo her all honor and ſeruice.

That if any Iuſts were holden within ten mile of the Court, euerie Knight to bee there, vnder paine to go without his Sword for one moneth, and without his Band another moneth.

That if any of theſe Knights were married within twentie miles of the Court, all the reſt ſhould accompanie him to the King to receiue a gift, and from thence to the place of wedding to exerciſe feates of Armes there, and euerie Knight to preſent the Bride with ſome gift.

That the firſt Sonday of euerie moneth, all the Knights ſhould ſhewe themſelues armed before the King, readie to performe any action of Armes at the Kings pleaſure: for the King would not haue them be onlie Knights in name, but in deed alſo.

That in no Turniament there ſhould bee more Knights than thirtie on one partie, and ſo many on the other partie, & that no Sword ſhould be brought into the place but ſuch as were rabbated both of edge and poynt. And that vpon the ſound of Trompet the fight ſhould begin, and at the ſound of the Clarions euerie man to ceaſe from fight and retire, vpon paine that who ſo failed, ſhould neuer more enter into that Combat, and be baniſhed the Court for one moneth.

That at euerie day of Iuſts each Knight ſhould paſſe foure Carieraes, before foure Knights appoynted for Iudges: & they who brake no ſtaues in thoſe courſes, ſhould pay the charge of the Iuſts.

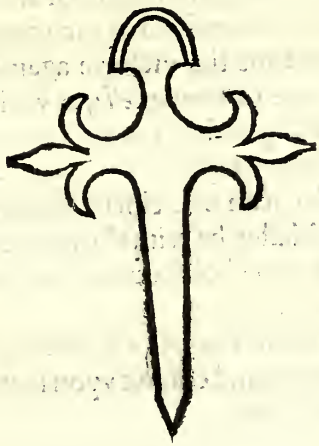
That if any Knight were ſicke and in perrill of death, all other his fellowe Knights ſhould viſite him, and exhort him to godlines. And if indeed he did dye, to accompanie his corſe to the graue. Alſo to mourne in blacke one whole moneth, and abſent themſelues from the exerciſe of Armes for the ſpace of three moneths, except the King ſhould otherwiſe command.

That

That within two daies after ſuch funerall, all the Knights ſhould aſſemble, and preſent the Band of the dead Knight vnto the King, making humble ſuite for ſome of his ſonnes to ſucceed, if any of them were meete, praying it would pleaſe his Maieſtie to be good to the mother, that ſhe might liue according to her honorable calling.

Knights of *San Jago.*

CAP. 13.



NExt vnto the Knights aforeſaid, for honor and eſtimation are theſe Knights of *S. Iames* in *Spaine*, by the *Spaniards* called *Caualieri di San Iago*. The originall of which Order was this.

At ſuch time as the *Arabians* had well neere conquered that Countrie, the remainder of the *Spaniſh*

people refuſing to liue vnder the lawes of that barbarous Nation, retired themſelues vnto the mounteines of *Aſturia*, and there ſetled a gouernment.

After ſome yeares of their abode there, certeine Gentlemen conſulting together, determined to make an aſſotiation and begin a warre vppon the Infidells. Theſe Gentlemen to the number of thirteene, being all Barons and men of great qualitie, agreed alſo vpon certeine religious rules of Knighthood, yet reſeruing vnto themſelues libertie of marriage.

The Enſigne which they reſolued to weare, was a red Croſſe in the forme of a Sword.

This Order was erected at ſuch time as the King *Don Ramiro* wanne the victorie againſt the *Moores* in the Prouince of *Compoſtella*, at which time great poſſeſsions and priuileges were giuen to *S. Iames* of *Compoſtella*. *Anno.* 1030.

This Order hath one chiefe Gouernour, who is called Great Maſter; he with thirteene other Knights haue authoritie to chooſe or remooue any Knight at their diſcretion.

Vpon the Feaſt day of *All Saincts* theſe Knights doo vſe to meete, and conſult vpon matters apperteining to their eſtate.

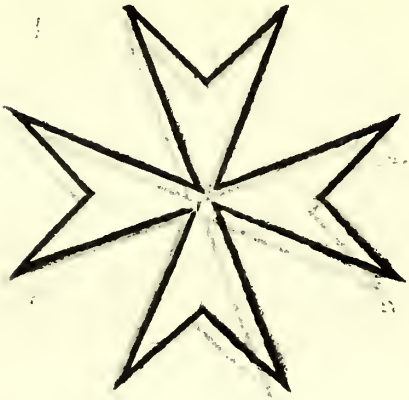
The reuenues belonging to theſe Knights is merueilous, amounting to many hundred thouſand Duckets.

Many Popes haue giuen their allowance to this Order, yet either they could not, or would not reſerue a greater tribute thereof, than ten *Malachini* yearely.

Knights

Knights of Calatraua.

CAP. 14.



BY imitation of the Order aforesaid, was this Knighthood of *Calatraua* begun in the yeare 1130. The inuenter thereof was *Don Santio* King of *Toledo*.

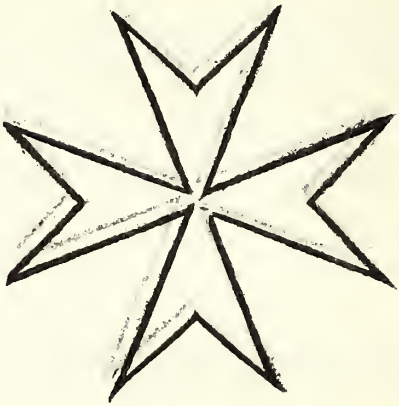
They were called Knights of *Calatraua*, of the Prouince and place where they were made and setled, which was where ancientlie the chiefe Church of *Templers* had been, who not being of power sufficient to resist the *Saracens*, were forced to yeeld the place vnto these Knights.

The habit of these Knights is a blacke garment, and vpon it in the breast is set a red Crosse.

These Knights haue also exceeding great possessions, and many Commandries in diuers places of *Spaine*.

Knights of Alcantara.

CAP. 15.



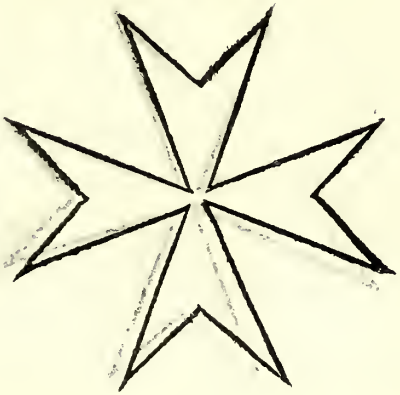
THese Knights liuing in effect vnder the ordinances and rules of the former, doo weare a greene Crosse.

Neere vnto the Citie of *Alcantara* in *Castiglia* vpon the riuer of *Tago*, they haue a Church of great beautie, indowed with rich possessions.

Knights

Knights of Montesio.

CAP. 16.



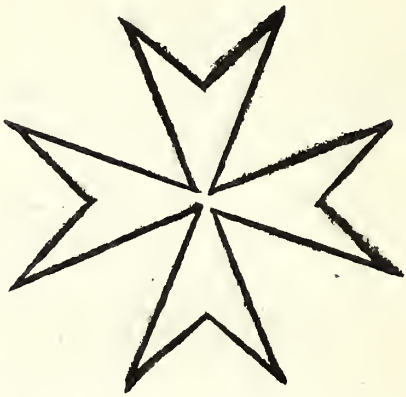
IN *Valentia* are the *Cauallieri di Montesio*, a place also seated in that Prouince.

These Knights doo weare a red Crosse, and their Order begun about the same time that the Knighthood of *Calatraua* tooke beginning.

Knights

Knights of Redemption.

CAP. 17.



THese Knights were erected in the Kingdome of *Aragon* by King *Iames*, who conquered the Ilands *Maiorica* and *Minorica* in the yeare 1212.

Their garments are white, and thereon a blacke Crosse.

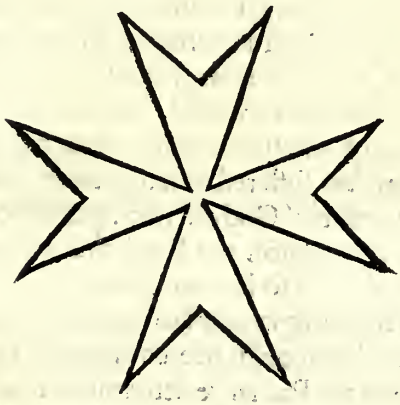
The office of these Knights is to redeeme prisoners, wherevpon they are called *Caualieri della Redentione*.

The chiefe Gouernour of them remaineth at *Bercellona*.

Knights

Knights of S.Iohn *in* Ieruſalem: *of ſome called Knights of the* Rhodes: *and now, Knights of* Malta.

CAP. 18.



IT is written (with what warrant I know not) that at the Citie of *Amiens* in *Picardie* a Prouince of *France*, there was borne a certein Gentleman, who in his childhood had been brought vp in learning: and being growne to mans eſtate, diſpoſed himſelfe to the exerciſe of Armes, and therein long time continued. Afterwards, hauing atteined riper yeares, he deſpiſed the world, and framed himſelfe to a ſolitarie life, as one fullie reſolued to liue in contemplation vnſeene of any but God alone. Hauing ſometime remained in that ſolitarie ſort, a ſodeine deſire he had to viſite the Sepulcher where Chriſt was buried,

which ſhortlie after he did. And to the end he might with ſecuritie paſſe the barbarous Nations, he apparelled himſelfe like vnto a Phiſition; by which meane without impediment he performed his iorney. Thus hauing paſſed the difficulties of trauell in diuers ſtraunge Countries, he ariued at *Ieruſalem*, and being there, fell into acquaintance with *Simon*, Patriarke of that Citie, and in lamenting wiſe enformed him of the oppreſsion and crueltie offered and daylie vſed by the Infidels towards the poore Chriſtians. Whereunto *Simon* anſwered, that albeit the Chriſtians in thoſe Countries indured great outrages, yet they of *Ieruſalem* ſuffered much greater, and ſhould be forced to more if God did not defend them.

By this conference, the Patriarke conceiued *Peter* the Hermit (for ſo he was called) to bee a man of good vnderſtanding, and apt to execute any action of importance that ſhould bee committed vnto him. Whereupon the Patriarke determined to make him a meſſenger vnto the Pope, vnto whom by letters he imparted the great calamitie and afflicted eſtate of the poore Chriſtians inhabiting the Holy land.

Peter hauing receiued his inſtructions and letter of credence, returned into the Weſt, firſt vnto the Pope, and after ſolicited other Princes: in ſuch ſort, and with ſo good ſucceſſe, as by his perſwaſions, many great Kings and Potentates conſented to take in hand the recouerie of the Holy land from the oppreſſion of the Infidels, and ſome of them furniſhed that enterpriſe with men, ſome with monie, and ſome did goe in perſon. Among which number (as the chiefe) was *Robert* Duke of *Normandie*, ſonne to King *William*

liam of *England*, *Godfrey* Duke of *Lorayn*, with two of his brethren called *Eustace* and *Baldwin*, *Hugh* sirnamed the *Great* brother to the *French* King: with diuers other Princes, Dukes, Earles and Barons. Also thether went *Beomondo* Duke of *Calabria*, who for zeale to that seruice (or desire of honor) resigned his Dukedome vnto *Ruggiero* his brother, taking with him so many of his subiects as would voluntarilie followe him, of whom (with such other Capteines and Soldiers of *Italie* as came vnto him) he assembled more than twentie thousand, all choyce men & yong fit for the warre.

All things in this sort prepared for the iorney, *Vrban* the second (then Pope) sent vnto these Capteines a white Crosse, with commandement that al the Soldiers should weare the like, calling that enterprise *la Cruciata*. It is said, that the Christians, at such time as this warre was proclaimed in *Chiaramont* (a Citie of *Auernia*) indeuoured themselues vniuersallie to animate the Soldiers, and ioyned in generall praier for their good successe, giuing them meate, apparell and furniture, vnasked or required. Moreouer, those that were indebted, were forgiuen, and such as had been banished were pardoned. The women also (contrarie to their custome) willinglie and with much ioy consented their husbands and sonnes should passe in this enterprise, and for their furniture gaue them their Iewels, Cheines and monie. The *French* King likewise sent them great treasure, and gaue priuileges to the Soldiers lands and wiues in their husbands absence. And many great Princes and other Lords sold and impawned their patrimonies to further this ac-

tion. So as the Armie assembled for this holie enterprise, amounted vnto three hundred thousand footmen, and one hundred thousand horse, who presentlie marched towards *Constantinople*, where they passed the straight called *Bosphoro Tracio*, and landed at *Calcedonia*.

For the first enterprise they besieged *Nicea* in *Bithinia*, which within fiftie daies was yeelded: and the fourth of Iuly at the foote of certeine Mounteines neere vnto that Citie, the Christians fought a battell with a Turkish Armie, which in number exceeded ours, and thereat was present *Soliman* the Emperour of *Turkie* and *Persia*: but the Christians had victorie with the losse of two thousand men: but of the enemies were slaine fortie thousand.

This victorie gained, the Christians following their enterprise, within short time wonne an hundred Cities and Townes of accompt, & among them the great *Antiochia*, before which they begun the siege the 20. of October, and tooke it the last of May following, where they found *Corbona* King of *Persia*, and *Cassiano* Lord of *Antiochia*. Neere vnto that place in one other conflict were slaine more then an hundred thousand *Turkes*, with the losse of foure thousand of ours.

The cause of this victorie was (in that time of Superstition) imputed to the vertue of a bloudie Launce found in *Antiochia*, which they supposed to bee a Speare wherewith Christ was wounded on the Crosse. It was also said, that the *Turks* did see, or imagine to see (as they reported) another great Armie comming against them from the Mounteines, conducted

ducted by three Capteines mounted vppon three white horſes, the beholding whereof occaſioned their flight.

This victorie being had, a Nauie ariued frō *Genoa* and from *Venice*. Alſo with them came certeine ſhips conducted by one *Vymer* of *Bullein* in *Picardie*, a notable Pirate, who repenting his former life, determined to followe that honorable action.

The Chriſtian forces thus increaſed, they marched towards *Ieruſalem*, and beſieged it. And notwithſtanding the Citie was of great force, yet by Gods helpe and the valorous aduenture of the Chriſtians, it was aſſaulted, and in the end yeelded. *Anno* 1099.

This Citie thus conquered, the ſaid *Peter* (as the chiefe procurer of the enterpriſe) was highlie honored, and *Godfrey* Duke of *Lorayn* elected King of the Holy land.

But to returne vnto the originall of theſe Knights, I ſay, that ſomewhat before the Chriſtians conquered the Citie of *Ieruſalem*, they had obteined of the *Saracens* leaue to dwell neere vnto the Sepulcher of Chriſt, and there builded an houſe, calling it the Hoſpitall of Chriſtians, whether all other Chriſtians dailie reſorted. After that, the number of Chriſtians increaſing, they builded another houſe for women, calling it *S. Mary Magdalens*. And at length they made a third houſe, and called it *S. Iohn Baptiſts*, where for the keeping of good order they appoynted an Officer, whom they called Rector.

Sometime after, was elected vnto that Rectorſhip a Gentleman called *Gherardus*, who commaunded

that he, with all others of that houſe, ſhould weare a white Croſſe vpon a blacke garment, which was the originall of the Order, and euer ſince hath been vſed.

Afterwards one other Rector or great Maſter was elected, whoſe name was *Raimondus*, to whom authoritie was giuen, that he ſhould gouerne and commaund all the Knights of this Order whereſoeuer they were diſperſed.

Many yeares after, theſe Knights conquered the Ile of *Rhodi*, holden by the *Turkes* *Anno* 1308. which was the cauſe they were called Knights of *Rhodi*. And diuers Princes ſeeing them Martiallie enclined, gaue vnto them great lands and poſſeſsions: & they became greatlie eſteemed for their ſeruice, chieflie againſt the ſaid *Turkes*, and the *Soldan* King of *Egipt* and *Ieruſalem*. The ſaid Ile of *Rhodi* (during thoſe Knights inhabited there) was foure times aſſaulted, yet by Gods helpe, with the valiancie of the Knights, it was defended. Then *Mahomet Ottoman* Emperour of *Turkie* *Anno* 1480. with an exceſsiue force of men and an hundred ſailes of Gallies (conducted by a *Baſſa* borne in *Greece*, diſcended of the raſe of *Paleologhi* ſometime Emperours of *Conſtantinople*) did beſiege it: but after 89 daies of continuall batterie, they were forced to abandon the enterpriſe, and for their farewell in the laſt aſſault, the Knights ſlewe more then fortie thouſand *Turkes*.

But in the yeare 1523. in the moneth of Ianuarie, the *Turkes* againe inuaded that Iland, and after three moneths ſiege preuailed: for the reſt of Chriſtendom neuer vouchſafed them either aide or reliefe.

Since

Since the losse of *Rhodi*, these Knights haue remained in the Iland of *Malta*, and often defended it against the enemies of Christendome, but chieflie in the yeare 1565.

The first erector of Statutes and rules for the gouernment of these Knights, was the said *Raimondus*, calling himselfe *Raimondo di Poggio, seruo di poueri di Christo, è custode dello spidale de San Giouanni Battista di Hierusalemme.*

No man might be receiued into this Knighthood, vntill he had prooued his gentilitie in presence of the great Master and other Knights.

Nor no man discended of a *Moore*, a *Iew*, or *Mahometan*, might bee admitted, although he were the sonne of a Prince.

And euerie Knight of this Order was sworne to fight for the Christian faith, doo iustice, defend the oppressed, relieue the poore, persecute the *Mahometans*, vse vertue, and protect widdowes and orphants.

Diuers other Articles there bee, but for that they are full of Superstition, I omit them.

The

The originall of the Knights *Teutonici.*

CAP. 19.



THeſe Knights do not much varie from the former, for their cuſtome is to intertein Pilgrimes, and at occaſions to ſerue in warre.

The beginning of this Knighthood was a certeine *Almaine*, who after the taking of *Ieruſalem* by the Chriſtians (together with diuers others of that Nation) remained there. This *Almaine* being exceeding rich and married, kept a franke and liberall houſe, relieuing all paſſengers and Pilgrimes that trauailed to *Ieruſalem*: in ſo much as his houſe became as an Hoſpitall or place of ordinarie acceſſe. At length he builded neere vnto it a faire Church, which (according to the vſe of that time) he did dedicate to our Ladie.

Not

Not long after, many Christians resorting thether, as well for loue of the Christian religion, as to visite the sicke, they resolued to erect a fraternitie, and hauing chosen a great Master to bee Gouernour, ordeined that euerie man of that assotiation, should bee apparelled in white, and vpon their vppermost garment weare a blacke Crosse.

It was also agreed, that no man should bee admitted into that Order, saue onelie Gentlemen of the *Dutch* Nation: and they to protest at all occasions to aduenture their liues in defence of Christes Gospell.

About 88. yeares after *Ierusalem* had remained in the Christians hands, it was taken againe from them by the *Saracens* in the yeare 1184. since which time it neuer was recouered. For which cause these Knights retired to *Tolemaida*, where they remained.

At length *Tolemaida* being also taken by the *Saracens*, they returned into *Germanie* their naturall countrie. Where after some short abode (as loathing rest and idlenes) they went vnto *Frederigo* the second then Emperour in the yeare 1220. to let his Maiestie vnderstand that the people of *Prussia* vsed incursions vpon the confines of *Saxonie*, adding that those people were barbarous, Idolaters without the knowledge of God, and therefore besought his Maiestie to grant them leaue to make warre vpon them at their owne charges, yet with condition that whatsoeuer they gained, his Maiestie would giue the same to the maintenance of that Order, and they the Knights to be the Lords thereof for euer.

The Emperour allowing of that ſuite, preſentlie granted them the Countrie, and vnder his ſeale confirmed the gift.

Theſe Knights by this donation much incouraged, forthwith tooke Armes, and within ſhort ſpace ſubdued al that Prouince, and then paſſed the riuer of *Viſtola*, and conquered other people, who became their ſubiects, and were made Chriſtians.

Within ſhort ſpace after, theſe Knights builded diuers Churches, and among them ſome Cathedrall Temples, making them places of reſidence for Biſhops, who were alſo inioyned to weare the habit of the Order.

Neere vnto the riuer *Viſtola* was a great Oake, where theſe Knights builded the firſt Caſtle and Towne, which with time was encreaſed and called *Borgo di Santa Maria*, where is now the chiefe Church apperteining to this Order: thereunto belongeth ſo great riches and reuenues, as theſe Knights may both for men and monie compare with diuers Princes.

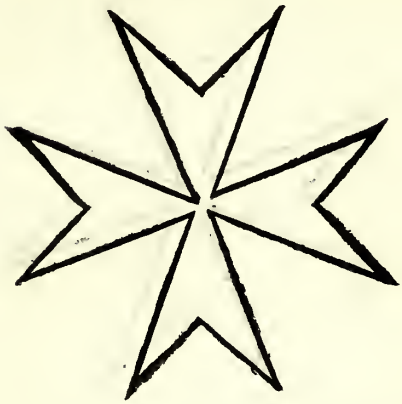
This Countrie of *Pruſsia* is great, and much thereof bounded by the riuer *Viſtola*: and is alſo confined by *Sarmatia*, the *Maſſageti*, and *Polonia*.

Theſe Knights are alſo Lords of *Liuonia*, which was likewiſe by them brought to the faith of Chriſtianitie, and is with Chriſtians now inhabited.

Knights

Knights of the Sepulcher.

CAP. 20.



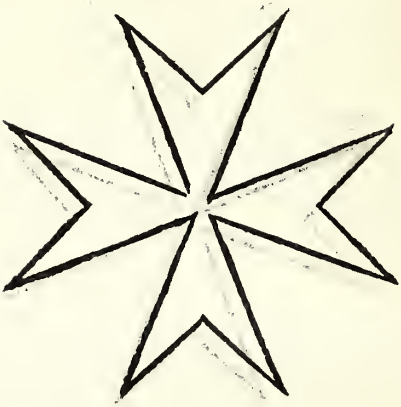
THis Knighthood is now extinct, or rather conioyned vnto the Order of *Malta*.

The Enſigne belonging to theſe Knights was two red Croſſes.



Knights of S. Mary.

CAP. 21.



IN the life of Pope *Vrban* the fourth (at which time was great warre among the Princes of *Italie*) certeine rich Gentlemen of *Bologna* and *Modona* desiring to eschue the present troubles, and bee exempt from publique charges, desired of that Pope to permit them to liue in contemplation, and erect a newe Order of religious Knighthood, which for money they obteined, calling themselues Knights of *Sainct Mary*.

The habit of this Order was verie pompous, and thereupon a red Crosse wrought with gold round about.

They were speciallie inhibited to weare gold in their spurres and horse harnesse.

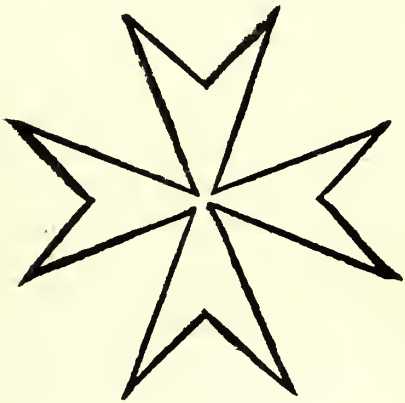
They

They made profeſsion to fight againſt the Infidels, and all others that offended Iuſtice: Notwithſtanding, they liued euer at home in reſt with their wiues and children.

They were commonlie called *Caualieri di Madonna:* but becauſe they liued continuallie in eaſe and pleaſure, men termed them *Frati gaudenti:* as much in our language, as *Goodfellowe brethren.* It may bee ſome of them are yet extant.

Knights of S. Lazaro.

CAP. 22.



THeſe Knights of this Order doo pleade great antiquitie, ſaying they were in the time of *S. Baſil*, and their profeſsion hath been confirmed by ſondrie Popes. They alſo affirme, that *Fredericke* the Emperour ſirnamed *Barbaroſſa*, gaue them great poſſeſsiõs

in *Sicilia*, *Calabria*, *Puglia*, and *Terra di Lauoro*: And to those lands diuers Popes did adde much. Notwithstanding, time that weareth all things away, did also consume these riches, and the Order well neere extinct, till of late yeares *Pius quartus* the Pope did reuiue it: who made *Gianotto Castiglione* a noble Gentelman of *Milan* great Master.

These Knights doo professe to bee obedient vnto their great Master, and other Officers of the Order. They promise also to liue chast, or at the least continent and content with one wife. Also to bee charitable, and liberall, chieflie to poore people infected with leprosie.

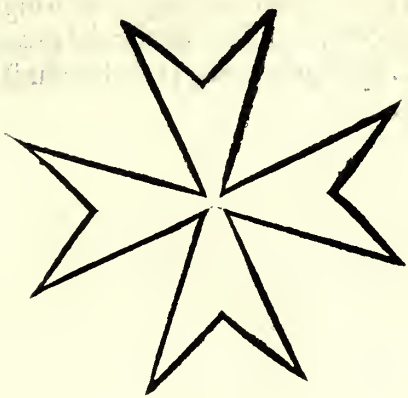
Moreouer, euerie Knight promiseth to weare a greene Crosse, & before they enter into this Knighthood must prooue himselfe to bee borne in lawfull wedlocke, and a Gentleman both by father and mother, and to beare Armes. Also that he is discended of ancient Christians, and no *Morrano* or *Turke*. That he hath of rent at the least 200. Crownes therewith to mainteine his dignitie. That he and his aunceſtors haue euer liued as Gentlemen, without vse of any base or mecanical occupation. That he hath not been suspected of any notable cuill fact, or is defamed for any vice. That he be not indebted, nor is wedded to any widdowe, or hath had more than one wife. But besides these passable protestations, he must vndertake to say fiue and twentie *Pater nosters*, and so manie *Aue marias*, with other Superstitious things not worthie the writing.

This Order haue of late time been much fauoured by the Dukes of *Sauoy*.

Knights

Knights of S. Steffano.

CAP. 23.



IN the yeare 1561. *Cosimo* Duke of *Florence* and *Siena*, hauing setled his gouernment, and liuing in peaceable estate, erected this religious Order of Knighthood, calling those that entered thereunto *Caualieri di San Steffano*. To these Knights he gaue a red Crosse bordered about with gold.

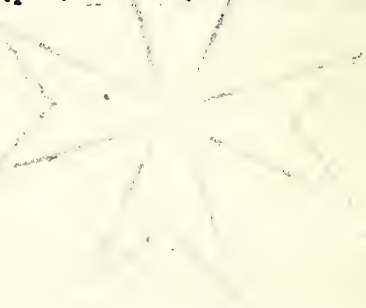
The Statutes annexed vnto this Order, are not vnlike to those apperteining to the Order of *Malta*: sauing that these haue libertie to marrie.

The chiefe place of their resiance is the Citie of *Pisa*, where the Duke prepared them a Church, and builded for them a Pallace wherein to lodge. And because neere to that Citie is a Hauen fit to receiue the

the Gallies wherein theſe Knights ſhould ſerue, it ſeemed good to that Prince to ſettle them there.

The Duke himſelfe and his ſucceſſors is great Maſter of this Order: and vnder him are diuers other Officers of reputation.

This is the laſt Order or degree of Knights that I haue ſeene or read of, ſaue onelie the great Knighthood of *S. Eſprit*, whereof (as is before ſaid) I am not enformed.



The

The Ceremonies in the degradation of Knights.

CAP. 24.

IT seemeth that the degradation of Knights hath been vsed onelie for offences of greatest reproach and dishonour: which I conceiue partlie by the rarenes of such actions, and partlie for that the men bereft of that dignitie, were not onelie degraded, but also by lawe executed. As in the raigne of King *Edward* the 4. it appeared a Knight was degraded in this sort.

First, after the publication of his offence, his gilt spurres were beaten from his heeles, then his sword taken from him, and broken. That being done, euerie peece of his Armour was brused, beaten, and cast aside. After all which disgraces, he was beheadded.

In like manner, *Andrew* of *Hekela* Knight and Earle of *Cardoyl*, was in this sort disgraded. He being apprehended, was by the Kings commandement brought before Sir *Anthony Lucy*, *Anno.* 1322. apparelled in all the robes of his estate as an Earle and a Knight, and so led vnto the place of Iudgement. Being thether come, Sir *Anthony Lucy* said vnto him these words. *First thou shall lose the Order of Knighthood by which thou hadst all thine honour: and further, all worship vppon thy bodie bee brought to nought.* Those wordes pronounced, Sir *Anthony Lucy* commanded a knaue to hewe the Knights spurres from his heeles,

and after cauſed his ſword to bee broken ouer his head. That done, hee was diſpoyled of his furred Tabord, of his Hood, of his furred Cotts, and of his Girdle. Then Sir *Anthony* ſaide vnto him theſe wordes: *Andrew, now art thou no Knight, but a knaue, and for thy treaſon the King doth will thou ſhalt bee hanged.*

This manner of proceeding in the degradation of theſe two Knights, I found recorded in an auncient booke of Maſter *Garters*, written in the ſelfe ſame words that are here expreſſed.

The Authors Intention.

Cap. 25.

ALbeit the whole ſcope and intent of this booke is to diſcourſe the poynts of Honor and dignities apperteining vnto Armes; yet for not being miſtaken in my meaning, I haue thought good to ſay, that the commendation due vnto learning is of no leſſe deſart, thã that which belongeth to Martiall merit. And indeed very rarelie doth any man excell in Armes, that is vtterlie ignorant in letters: for by how much one Capteine is more learned than another, by ſo much is he more capable of gouernment in Armes, and ought bee the better reputed. For who without learning can conceiue the ordering & diſpoſing of men, in marching, incamping, or fighting, without *Arithmetique?* Or who can comprehend the ingenious fortifications or inſtruments apt for offence or defence of Townes, or paſsing of waters, vnleſſe he hath knowledge of *Geometrie?*

metrie? Or how may Sea ſeruice be performed without skill of the *Latitude* of the place, by the *Pole*, and the *Longitude* by other Starres: which muſt be learned of the *Aſtronomers*. Yea learning is (no doubt) of ſuch excellencie and neceſsitie, that no Common weale without it, is well gouerned. What State can bee well ordered, vnleſſe the Gouernours or Magiſtrates haue ſtudied Philoſophie, chieflie that part which entreateth of manners, ſith it onlie enformeth, firſt how euerie man ſhould gouerne himſelfe. Secondlie, how he ſhould guide his owne familie. And thirdlie, teacheth how a Citie or Common weale may bee ordered and gouerned, as well in times of warre as peace: which moued *Plato* to ſay: *That happie is the Common weale where either the Prince is a Philoſopher, or where a Philoſopher is the Prince.* And although it cannot be denied that Empires and Kingdomes are both wonne and kept as well by force and manhood, as by wiſedome and policie; yet is the chiefe of that policie atteined vnto by learning. For in all ſorts of gouernments the wiſer haue authoritie ouer the rude and vnlearned. And as in euerie priuate houſe or towne the moſt diſcreet and beſt experienced are preferred, ſo in all Nations they that bee moſt ciuill, learned and politicke, doo find meanes to commaund the reſt, notwithſtanding in force they bee inferiour. The experience hereof was apparantlie ſeene in the *Grecians* and *Romanes*, among whom, like as wiſedome and learning was moſt eſteemed, ſo their Empires were ſpred furtheſt and continued longeſt. And to prooue that excellencie of learning in thoſe Nations preuailed againſt others equall with them

in manhood and courage, wee will vſe this onlie example. That albeit this realme before any conqueſt thereof, was (no doubt) inhabited with people of great courage; yet for that they were vnciuill, or at the leaſt without policie and learning, they were brought vnder the ſubiection of other Nations: as the *Saxons* were laſt by the *Normanes*, & the *Romanes* by the *Saxons* before that, and the *Brittaines* by the *Romanes* firſt of all. And albeit diuers men haue been and yet are, both wiſe and politick without learning, and ſome alſo that be learned (in reſpect of worldlie policie) be verie ſimple: yet I ſay, that ſuch wiſe men ſhould haue been more excellent, if they had been learned; and the other more ſimple and fooliſh, if they had been vtterlie without learning.

Exerciſe in warre maketh not euerie man fit to be a Capteine, though he followeth Armes neuer ſo long; and yet is there none ſo vnapt for the warre, but with vſe is more perfect, and the rather if he bee learned. For if experience doth helpe, then I am ſure that learning helpeth much more to the encreaſe of wiſedome. We wil then determine, that experience, becauſe it doth further wiſedome, may be called the father thereof, and memorie the mother; becauſe ſhe doth nouriſh and preſerue it: for in vaine ſhould experience bee ſought for, if the ſame were not held in remembrance. Then if both experience and memorie be holpen & increaſed by learning, it muſt needes bee confeſſed, that experience helpeth wit. Euerie man ſeeth that the experience of an old man maketh him wiſer than the yong, becauſe he hath ſeen more; yet an old man ſeeth onlie things in his owne time:

but

but the learned man seeth not onlie his owne age and experience, but whatsoeuer hath been in long time past, yea since the first writer tooke pen in hand, and therefore must needes knowe more than the vnlearned man, bee he neuer so olde; for no memorie can compare with writing. Besides that, if the vnlearned doo forget any thing seene, hardlie shall he reduce it to memorie againe: whereas the learned man by turning his booke, hath meane to call to remembrance what he happeneth to forget. Therefore, as he that liueth foure score yeares must needes haue more experience than he that liueth fortie: so he that seeth in bookes the accidents of a thousand yeares, knoweth more than he that by liuing one hundred yeates could atteine vnto. In like manner, if he that trauaileth many Nations, is of more experience than others of like age that neuer went from his natiue countrie: so he that is learned, by *Cosmographie*, histories, and other learning, seeth the manner and vsage of euerie Countrie in the world, yea of many moe than is possible for one man in all his life to trauell through: and of these he trauaileth, much better doth he learne, by small abode there, than another by longer experience that is altogether vnlearned. By this learning we may also conceiue the scituation, temperature, and qualitie of euerie Countrie throughout the world. Also through the science of *Astronomie*, wee knowe the course of the Planets aboue, and their Aspects and Coniunctions; which the learned men in times past atteined vnto by long conference and obseruation; but we by perusing their bookes onlie may learne it: yet without that helpe we could neuer. To conclude,

there is nothing either of profite or neceſsitie for mans life, but by learning is taught more perfectlie, than it can bee compaſſed by experience, or other meane whatſoeuer.

But leauing the commodities of learning to be diſcourſed by thoſe that are learned indeed, this onlie I ſay, that the endeuour of Gentlemen ought be either in Armes or learning, or in them both. And in my poore conceit, hardlie deſerueth he any title of honor or gentilitie, that doth not take pleaſure in the one or the other. For as no liuing creature is borne to idlenes, ſo is there no doubt but God and nature hath deſtined each one for ſome commendable buſineſſe. And like as baſe occupations are fit for folke of baſe fortune, ſo valiant and vertuous minds, in actions of honor and vertue ſhould be employed. And if in this earthlie life any thing there bee that meriteth fame or fauour, ſurely the ſame is a vertuous life and valerous endeuour: whereof *Iuuenall* ſaith:

Res gerere & captos oſtendere ciuibus hoſtes
Attingit ſolium Iouis & cæleſtia tentat.
Principibus placuiſſe viris non vltima laus eſt.

The Authors Concluſion.

Cap. 26.

WE haue ſaid in our former diſcourſe, that no man of any qualitie or fortune, is borne or deſtined to eaſe, idlenes, or vnprofitable occupation: we haue likewiſe touched the commodities of ſuch learnings, as are required in actions both ciuill and Martiall, whereby may appeare, how neceſſarie it is for all Gentlemen to endeuour themſelues in the one and the other, as thoſe knowledges whereby men are made worthie of honorable title. Notwithſtanding, through corrupt cuſtome or bad education, the greater part of our Engliſh Gentilitie is not onelie ignorant what honor and vertue meaneth, but conſequentlie diſdaineth (or at the leaſt wiſe lightly regardeth) thoſe labours whereby they might and ought become comfortable to friends, and ſeruiceable to their Prince and Countrie: which haplie moued the Poet to forewarne fathers to haue care of childrens education, ſaying:

Gratum eſt quod patriæ ciuem populoque dediſti,
Si facis vt patriæ ſit idoneus, vtilis agris,
Vtilis & bellorum & pacis rebus agendis.

And in continuing the conſideration of this matter, I am occaſioned to be right ſorie, that our Engliſh youth doo not onlie earneſtlie affect vaine pleaſures and improfitable paſtimes as recreation; but alſo vſe them with daylie labour as their chiefe buſineſſe and

ſpeciall

ſpeciall profeſsion. And to ſpeake plainlie, I am more then halfe perſwaded, that a great ſort of our Gentlemen (chieflie thoſe that haue had their nurture at home with their owne ignorant parents) doo take more comfort to be called good Faulkners or expert Woodmen, than either skilfull Souldiers or learned Scollers. Yet who ſo obſerueth, ſhall finde, that the ſame men by ſecret inſtinct of gentle nature, doo not a little glorie in the auncient badges, titles and ſeruices of their auncеſters, ſuppoſing thoſe paſſed merites (ſupported with riches) ought without further ſufficiencie, make them more worthie than others, whoſe owne proper vertue and labour haue indeed deſerued much honor. But as no fowle flieth with the wings of another, nor no horſe doth runne on legges not his owne: ſo ought no man be praiſed or admired for the vertue or good merite of another. And albeit the fame of auncеſters honor, may (for ſome ſhort ſpace) mainteine a certeine hope of vertue, (chieflie where no vice appeareth) yet time, which doth diſtinguiſh things indeed, from thoſe that onlie appeare, will alſo (like vnto counterfeit mettall) bewray the want or worth of euery man, and for ſuch a one he ſhall be knowne & eſteemed, of what name, houſe, parentage or predeceſſor ſo euer, he is diſcended. It therefore behoueth euerie Gentleman well borne to imbrace the loue of vertue, and in the actions thereof to employ the courſe of his whole life. For what can be more pleaſing to a generous minde, than the ſtudie of wiſedome? whereby to knowe good from euill, and truth from falſhood, the one to be followed, the other eſchewed.

What

What may be more blessed than Iustice? whereby we refraine from all iniuries, and giue vnto euerie one that which vnto him apperteineth. What is more noble than Fortitude? which contemneth all worldlie accidents, and with inuincible courage fighteth for equitie and right. And what is more fit or better beseeming a noble personage, than Temperance? which teacheth comelines and moderation, gouerning the passions and perturbations of minde, to the quietnes of mans life, and contentation of others. These with other vertues on them depending, haue from base birth and poore parentage, brought many to great title and dignitie. And as those vertuous endeuours haue aduaunced them, so the discontinuance of like delights, did vtterlie deface that honor in their posteritie. Vertue I say, is that which from meane estate hath euer led the louers thereof to great reputation and glorie. Among infinite examples (omitting men of meaner fortune, yet worthie much honor) we haue *Agathocles*, *Eumenes*, *Pertinax*, *Diocleſian*, *Valentinian*, with other Emperours, Kings and Capteines. Of like fortune in birth was *Marcus Tullius*, *Cato*, *Horace*, with diuers most notable learned men: yea *Socrates* himselfe (who by the Oracle of *Apollo* was iudged the wisest man aliue) had no great parentage. And *Iulius Cæsar*, that both for Armes and learning excelled, and was the first Emperour, aspired from lowe degree to excessiue glorie. Notwithstanding, through protraction of time, and the degeneration of those mens posteritie, not onelie their owne houses and names are vanished, but also the honor and renowne of the Nations where they

liued, is vtterlie decaied and extinguished. Which the Christian Poet *Palingenius* expressed well in these verses.

Nempe diu res nulla manet, nempe omnia semper
Deteriora solent fieri, in peiusque referri,
Naturæ imperio, & fatorum lege perenni:
Deinde iterum ex alio fœtu instaurata renascsi.

Thus haue we heard the meanes of aspiring vnto Honor, and by what occasion the same is lost or decaied. But well I wot, that vnto these reasons and examples produced to incite our English youth, they answere, that were they sure to attaine vnto the least part of that fortune these great personages and many others their inferiours haue come vnto, then would they not feare to aduenture their labour and liues to the vttermost: but because the paines and perills are certeine, and the successe doubtfull, they thinke it more wisedome to Hunt and Hawke at home, than hazard their bodies abroad, or beate their braines about that which haplie neuer shall turne them to profite. This sillie allegation compounded of sloath and pusillanimitie, may easilie be refelled, but slowlie followed. Notwithstanding, (for that I am vsed to lose my labour) I will replie thereunto thus: That seeing no reward is due befor desart, and that Honor is the recompence of vertue, it may not be looked for vntill some vertuous testimonie bee first shewed. What Soldier is so simple, as entring into pay will at the first day looke to bee made a Capteine, or haue promise within fewe yeares to become a Generall? What

Scoller

Scoller will at his firſt comming to ſtudie demaund the degrees due vnto Arte, or that ſhortlie after (with little learning) will challenge to bee a Doctor? Yet true it is, that ſometimes the ſimpleſt Archer doth hit the marke, which many an excellent ſhooter miſſeth: notwithſtanding, hardlie can any wiſe man bee brought to lay monie on his ſide, or hope of ſuch ſucceſſe. Euen ſo, in the atteining of Honor, although fauour and fortune ofttimes preferreth the vnworthie, yet the true way and moſt likelie meane thereunto, is true vertue and induſtrious life. Wherefore concluding I ſay, that euery noble and magnanimous mind, doth not ſo much couet the rewards of vertue, as it taketh delight in vertue it ſelfe. As the ſame Poet ſaith:

Propter ſe virtus petitur, non propter honorem,
Ipſa licet proprie, ac vere, mereatur honorem.

FINIS.

Cest le Jour Cristofly Bil
made vj or vij yeard from
the Quer Sale bon Playd
at Michaelmas cuyt yeare

E RIGHT HONORA.

Loue of Essex *his welcom into* England, from Portugall.

Piers. Palinode.

Dicite Io Pæan, & Io bis dicite Pæan,
In Patriam rediit magnus Apollo *suam.*

PALINODE.



Erdgrome, vvhat gars thy pipe to goe so loud?
Why bin thy lookes so smicker and so proud?
Perdie plaine *Piers*, but this couthe ill agree,
With thilke bad fortune, that ay thvvarteth the.

Piers.

That thvvarteth me, good *Palinode*, is fate,
Yborne vvas *Piers* to be infortunate.
Yet shall my Bagpipe go so loud and shrill,
That heauen may entertaine my kind good vvil.

Io Io Pæan.

Palinode.

Sot I say, Losell, leudest of all svvaines,
Singest thou proud *Pæans* on these open plaines
So ill sitteth this straine, this loftie note,
With thy rude tire, and gray russet cote.

